Daily Report

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Alia Meets Representatives; 'Consensus' Reached

AU0303202691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, held a meeting on 2 March 1991 at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly with representatives of the Agrarian Party, the Democratic Party, the Ecology Party, the Albanian Workers Party, the Republican Party, and other social and political organizations such as the Trade Unions, the Youth Union, the Democratic Front, the Women's Union, and the National Veterans Committee.

At this meeting, in response to the political, economic, psychological, and social distress the country is experiencing, the representatives of the parties and social and political organizations committed themselves to working for the normalization of the country's life, respecting social peace, and calling on the masses to fulfill their tasks, especially seasonal work in agriculture.

Those taking part in the meeting took the view that political debate should always take place with respect for moral and ethical standards, without excesses and calls that could lead to undesirable developments during the election campaign. At the end of the meeting, the representatives of the parties and social and political organizations reached the following consensus:

1. The political parties and other electoral participants support the Presidential Council's efforts to ensure the calm and normal conduct of the electoral campaign and its demand that standpoints leading to an exacerbation of relations and unity among people should be avoided. They commit themselves to ensuring that mass rallies and other events take place within the context of the campaign for the 31 March elections. Meetings organized by the parties and other electoral participants during the election campaign will be orderly and held primarily indoors, thus enabling electors to acquaint themselves as well as possible with the programs and personalities of the candidates for whom they will vote.

2. The political parties and other electoral participants commit themselves to suspending all activities relating to the name of Enver Hoxha and the movement of public symbols and emblems connected with him. They agreed that the future People's Assembly will decide this issue in a democratic way, such as by a people's referendum, and so forth.

Council of Ministers Issues Communique on Economy

AU0303160491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Council of Ministers communique issued in Tirana on 2 March]

[Text] In recent days, under the instruction of the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers considered the country's serious economic situation, focusing on how to improve the economic performance in the first two months of this year, laying down special measures to overcome the difficulties.

A responsible analysis shows economic and financial indicators have continued to decline during this period in virtually all sectors of the economy. Marked shortfalls in many extracting and processing industries, light industry, construction, transportation, agriculture, and especially exports are further burdening the economic situation and creating other difficulties in ensuring raw materials to continue work for the supply of the people.

The Council of Ministers judged that shortages in the supply of raw materials in some enterprises, branches, and sectors of the economy relating to the country's growing balance of payments deficit have exerted an influence on this situation; however, it judged that such shortages do not justify the low level of production in most enterprises. It is a result of declining labor discipline, insufficient commitment on the part of managing cadres and specialists; violations of the necessary regulations for the supply and functioning of production, distribution, and transportation; and failure to meet contracted obligations between the enterprises and the districts.

After special analyses and meetings, the government drew the attention of ministries and the executive committees of people's councils in the districts to the need to enforce order and strict labor discipline by implementing special organizational measures, inspecting and controlling daily work in every sector. It called on enterprise managers to stand by workers and cooperativists as closely as possible and to take all possible measures to solve problems on the spot, with the aim of preventing at all costs any further decline in production and labor and creating additional stocks for improving the situation. This essential demand is necessary to prevent serious consequences for the people's living standards, which will be unavoidable if an immediate turning point in labor and in boosting production is not achieved.

For this purpose, analyzing every sector and branch under the instructions of the Presidential Council, the government took a range of measures and announced special work programs for all levels of state and economic bodies. These programs lay down highly specific objectives for every ministry and the necessary organizational measures to encourage their attainment. On this occasion, it turns to all working people to maturely assess the situation and to assume their responsibilities for carrying out their tasks.

The Council of Ministers itself has assumed responsibilities to this end. Considering supplies to the people as the most important area of work, it is making maximal

efforts to fulfill the market's needs for necessary foodstuffs such as bread, oil, sugar, rice, flour, their byproducts, soap, etc. from domestic sources and imports. Virtually all foreign currency earned from our exports is being used to obtain food, and these articles are also being imported on delayed payment terms on the basis of credits obtained from foreign states, firms, and banks. The government has decided to suspend the export of food products such as canned fish, vegetables, jams, dried fruit and vegetables, etc., excluding those food exports that are sold to obtain imports of other more important food products.

It instructed the ministries to act faster to process and distribute the thousands of tonnes of goods that have arrived at the port of Durres and to place reserves of industrial goods on the market. It asked not only working people in transportation, the retail sector, and state control bodies, but all other working people to fully commit themselves to this task, preventing the damage that delinquent elements have caused to these goods during their transportation to retail outlets. It also entrusted the forces of order with special duties in this area.

Regarding the supply of the market with vegetables and other agricultural and animal products, the government presented special measures for achieving a specific level of production in every district and tightening labor discipline in every agricultural cooperative, because there are opportunities and adequate resources everywnere. The Council of Ministers has instructed the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts, in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture, to radically change the working methods of their apparatuses and to take other measures to overcome the difficulties in stockraising, carrying out work in the vegetable fields, and assuming full responsibility before the people for the supplies of these products. Viewing the serious backwardness in all daily tasks in agriculture with strong concern, from soil preparation and sowing to work in the wheat fields and with other crops, the Council of Ministers demands that special and efficient methods of work organization be employed at all levels to overcome this situation in agriculture. Every day lost now is irrecoverable, and will be felt at once on the market.

To overcome the serious economic and financial situation, the Council of Ministers considers it necessary, without affecting living standards, to significantly cut investments and expenditure, especially in the administration. It presented specific measures to cut staff in every administration, including 50 percent of the personnel in our diplomatic and trade representations, to eliminate unnecessary expenditure in the social and cultural sectors, to reduce by 50 percent the fuel supply for the cars of every administration, to restrict trips abroad to a minimal level to save foreign currency, etc. The government entrusts the ministries and executive committees with the task of taking further measures and using the funds gained from them to improve the people's supplies and living standards.

The Council of Ministers attaches particular importance to ensuring foreign currency resources not merely for meeting daily needs but for maintaining continuity in supplies to the people and the supply of raw materials for the economy. It assigns duties for the ministries and executive committees of people's councils in the districts to daily monitor the fulfillment of production tasks, concentrating especially on fulfilling targets in producing, transporting, and distributing export goods.

The Council of Ministers expresses the conviction that these measures will be correctly understood and implemented by the ministries, executive committees, managements of enterprises, and boards of agricultural cooperatives. It fully supports the call of the Presidential Council and is taking measures to establish calm and public order and to increase labor mobilization as the only way to overcome the situation that has been created and to cure the country's economic, political, and social situation.

Government Spokesman Views Economic Emigration

AU0203210391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] An ATA reporter contacted the government spokesman to learn about the government's steps to meet the demands of many citizens to emigrate for economic reasons. The spokesman issued the following statement:

As one of the measures to reduce the number of unemployed people and in response to the requests of many citizens, the Council of Ministers is now working to create conditions for the employment of Albanian citizens in other countries. On its instructions, the Foreign Ministry has been using diplomatic channels and contacts with official delegations to begin to explore opportunities for achieving this aim. It has contacted a number of countries in Europe and beyond, examining the opportunities for the employment of Albanian citizens abroad through the intergovernmental agreements and contracts that are familiar in international practice. These contacts have not yet yielded tangible results. The demands of our side have come up against the difficulties of European countries in employing their own unemployed workers and people from the wave of immigration from the East, as was also stressed at the ministerial conference on the movement of people from Central and Eastern European countries, held in Vienna on 24-25 January 1991. The spokesman added, however, that these talks with those states we have contacted and others are continuing and will be extended. In this context, the Committee for Employment and Emigration, to be created soon as a government institution, will also help. These matters will also be given priority consideration in political and business contacts that are now taking place. All our diplomatic representatives abroad have been given special instructions on this matter.

Officers School Denies 'Signs of a Coup d'Etat'

AU0203221491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Statement by the Staff of the Enver Hoxha United Officers School issued in Tirana on 2 March]

[Text] The truth, and RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE of 2 March, compel us to issue an explanation to the people and particularly the Democratic Party's [PDSh] members and sympathizers. We are sincerely worried about the events of recent days on Bajram Curri. We are sorry, and feel a moral responsibility for only one thing: We should have done the impossible, alongside the heroic forces of order, even at the cost of our lives, and separated innocent people from the vandals who were among them. The report entitled Failed Rebellion, published in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, is deception, disinformation, and an incitement to further irritation. This is published at a time when we all want and are working for calm, order, and work. The anonymous chronicler of the events was either not present at all or wishes to distort and exaggerate them for malevolent purposes, the causes that led to them and their consequences.

It is said that on 21 February, the view was presented in the Ministry of People's Defense that the statue of Enver Hoxha in our school should be erected on Skenderbeg Square. We do not know from whom RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE obtained this data. We responsibly explain to the public that we received no such order from our superiors, and that such a thing did not cross our minds. This standpoint has been expressed at all the meetings we have held, including even those with PDSh representatives on the day of the events. RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE's report that meetings between teachers and students were held at the school is true. This is a normal thing, because we officers and cadres always discuss everything, especially now as democracy is becoming stronger, and decide and carry out things together with the students, first eliciting their views. The PDSh representatives did the same thing with the crowd assembled in front of our school. Of course, this made it more necessary for us and the students to insist that our command should protect the school facilities, not to fire on the people, as the report states. No such thing ever crossed our minds.

RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE's report talks about a spontaneous rally, ultimatums addressed to the president, an initiating commission that allegedly took on itself the role of command and armed the students, various slogans and calls, a blond tank-driver who shouldered not one but two automatic rifles and fired into the air, and about students who left the rally without any officer talking to them. These are lies. Everything we do is done according to rules, with organization and total discipline, and with total unity of thought and action. There was indescribable enthusiasm, accompanied by tears from the young Skenderbegs, the students of the academy, and the civilian employees of the school. There were also calls to maintain cool heads. Everyone also realized that the forces of order were involved with clashes with the vandals. The television only reflected a part of this situation, because it was experiencing difficulties and was committed for almost three hours to the meeting organized with representatives of the political parties. Weapons were raised. This is justifiable in a military unit, in which the personnel are armed.

You in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE call these signs of a coup d'etat. This is your opinion and your right. We deny this, because such a thing never crossed our minds. The blow the people struck at the vandals and their illegal leaders at the recently held rallies was stronger than the force of any coup d'etat, as you have no doubt seen on television. We believe that the people have drawn a conclusion different from yours in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE. You say that the situation was tense on the day of the events. That is true. We were seriously worried about the dimensions these problems could assume in the circumstances that were imposed on us, after vandalist forces did not leave us in peace with their behavior. The situation in the school is quiet now. Classes are continuing. We study, relax, and remain vigilant. We do our utmost to improve our relations with some families living near the school. They have come to visit us, and we have visited them, and this will continue in the future, because we are sons of the people. We only wish the people to be vigilant and to oppose the delinquents, exposing and denouncing the vandals who come and find shelter in some of their apartment blocks, and committing themselves to the democratic process, but with sound sense, moderation, and alertness, and without being taken in by various demagogues who have become professionals in the art of irritiating. We wish, like RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, to contribute in this direction, not to do the opposite.

[Signed] Staff of the Enver Hoxha United Officers School.

[Dated] Tirana, 2 March 1991.

PDSh Spokesman Insists on Right To Rally

AU0303174591 Paris AFP in English 1639 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (AFP) — The Albanian opposition has rejected an order by the Provisional Presidential Council to stop holding meetings, Democratic Party [PDSh] spokesman Shpetim Mazarku said Sunday [3 March], the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reported. The council, formed last month by President Ramiz Alia following popular demonstrations in Tirana and other towns, called on Albanians on February 28 to stop holding meetings and "other activities that are not part of the electoral campaign."

A halt to meetings would enable voters, called to the polls for free elections on March 31, to get to know the candidates and their programmes better, the council said.

Mr. Mazarku said the opposition, of which his party is a leading component, would "not accept orders from anyone" and would "continue carrying out its schedule" which includes rallies, talks, meetings and "other forms" of contact with the electorate. "Massive" opposition rallies had taken place at the towns of Berat, Durres and Kavaje over the past two days, he said. He dismissed reports that busts and statues of Enver Hoxha, the hardline communist leader who ruled Albania for 40 years until his death in 1985, had been restored in a number of Albanian towns.

Large numbers of statues and memorials to Mr. Hoxha were removed by protesters during widespread pro-democracy demonstrations last month. Asked whether Ismail Kadare, the country's most famous writer, would stand for the Democratic Party in the forthcoming elections, Mr. Mazarku said he would "certainly" stand if he returned from France, where he has been in exile since last year, "before March 15."

Meanwhile port authorities in Brindisi, southern Italy, said 572 Albanian refugees arrived overnight Saturday by ship at the port of Otranto, in the far southeast of the Italian peninsula. A ship with 535 civilians on board, including nine women and 60 children, arrived from the southern Albanian port of Vlore, while a second ship arrived early Sunday bringing 35 Albanian Army officers in uniform and two civilians, all of whom asked for political asylum. A total of 855 Albanians, including 59 soldiers, have arrived in southern Italy since February 20.

PDSh Holds 'Extended Aktiv' in Elbasan

AU0103213691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] The Democratic Party's [PDSh] Elbasan branch organized an extended aktiv yesterday afternoon in the 11 November Cinema in the town. PDSh members and sympathizers took part. The aktiv was opened by Fatmir Manushi, chairman of the PDSh's Elbasan branch.

Dr. Sali Berisha also spoke at the aktiv, and said among other things that Elbasan is in favor of democratic processes, and that the PDSh is striving to go to the 31 March elections with dialogue and tolerance, with democratic means, and without violence or casualties. We are striving to cultivate a democratic culture; this party is not struggling for power through violence but through free and democratic elections. Referring to recent events, he stressed that the PDSh was a political force that cooperated with the forces of order to avoid a major disaster in front of the United Officers School. He then focused on the work that party members must do, especially in the villages, to attract as many supporters as possible. He also said we must struggle for ourselves and explain our party's program as well as possible. In conclusion, he stressed that we must go to the 31 March elections in a civilized way, without casualties or violence, and with maturity. He called on people to vote for the PDSh's candidates.

Azem Hajdari also spoke at the aktiv. He said that our party is the largest opposition party. We are for dialogue and democratic culture. He stressed that the PDSh does not favor a referendum over the figure of Enver Hoxha. Neritan Ceka, member of the Managing Commission, also spoke, and emphasized that we, as a democratic and European people, should show ourselves to be moderate and free of conflicts. In this way, we will join the family of Europe.

University Year To Be Completed by Correspondence

AU0103183691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Announcement by the Ministry of Education issued in Tirana on 1 March]

[Text] Following extensive consultation with the rectors of Tirana University, the Kamze Agricultural College, the deans of all faculties, and directors and deputy directors of all institutions in the district, the Ministry of Education has analyzed the situation and has laid down measures for the conduct of classes in our colleges.

Bearing in mind:

a. the still unsuitable situation for the normal conduct of colleges classes and the impossibility of completing on time all the changes and modifications to teaching curricula on the basis of students' demands and the objective need to restructure colleges,

b. the serious general economic situation and the resulting difficulties for the normal operation of all the college dormitories, the difficulties in meeting students' recent demands for better living conditions in several colleges within the appointed time, and the measures being taken by the new government to carry out the expenditure cuts in the nonproductive sphere instructed by the Presidential Council,

c. the impossibility of further postponing the resumption of college classes because of the recent disruption and interruption of classes and the absenteeism of students and teachers,

The Education Ministry announces that, so students will not lose the 1990-1991 school year, the teaching process will continue by correspondence courses, while maintaining students' rights to scholarships, diplomas, etc.

The Education Ministry therefore instructs:

1. College directors should take all the necessary measures to fundamentally solve all the following organizational problems:

a. The relevant changes to the curricula should be completed by 10 March 1991.

b. Specific timetables for tutorials, laboratory hours, and examinations should be approved by rectorates or directorates and announced no later than 10 March 1991. Tutorials and laboratory hours should take place between 10 March and 15 May 1991, while examinations will take place between 15 May and 10 June 1991. In compiling these timetables, the rectorates and directorates should bear in mind that canteens will operate at one-fifth of their capacity.

2. College Directorates should create working groups to study all the problems connected with the reorganization and restructuring of colleges such as Tirana University, Kamze Agricultural College, and some other colleges, and to consider the possibility of separating dormitories and canteens from the colleges, and granting their facilities for military training, productive labor in the teaching process, etc. All these studies should be completed by 15 May 1991.

The Rectorate and the Dean's Office should lay down special regulations for the conduct of classes in the Medical Faculty by 10 March 1991.

All elementary and secondary schools will resume normal classes on 4 March 1991.

The necessary explanations of all these changes will be provided by the press and college administrations.

1 March 1991.

Durres PDSh Rejects Recent 'Extremist Actions'

AU0203182891 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] [No dateline as received] The branch of the Democratic Party (DP) [PDSh] for Durres conducted an activist meeting for the organisation of the DP in this district, its present activity and tasks.

At the meeting it was emphasized that the program of the DP express the desires and aspirations of our people for the preservation of independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, the strengthening of the national unity and the creation of a multi-party, democratic and modern society. The program recognises all democratic freedoms and fundamental human rights, known by the current modern world. The juridical state will create space of action through the free move of persons in every direction, for full information etc. DP sees the perspective of the economy in the restructuring of all branches, associated with its gradual privatization based on the laws of the juridical state. DP dissociates itself from the extremist actions of an irresponsible part of people as it occurred on February 9 in Durres.

200 Hijack Ship at Vlore; Called on To Return

AU0103201191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Our reporter learned that at about 0710 yesterday a ship of our merchant fleet, while unloading in the port of Vlore, was attacked by a crowd of people, seized by force, and taken away illegally. This hijack was carried out in the midst of clashes with the forces of order and border guards. Shots were fired on both sides. Two hundred people succeeded in crossing the border illegally in the hijacked ship. From information we obtained from Vlore District, we learned that various people from different districts of the country had gathered following a rumor that a ship was to come to take them to Italy.

At a time when every citizen in our country may be supplied with a passport and visa to cross the border legally, we call on all citizens to return to their districts, because there will be no ship to transport them and crossing the border illegally could entail consequences putting people's lives at risk.

Science Academy on 'Implementation of Democracy'

AU0103183291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Statement by the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania issued in Tirana on 1 March]

[Text] The Assembly of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with the participation of directors of its institutions, under circumstances in which new political and social processes are taking place in our country, considers it appropriate to address a call to all academics, intellectuals, and the entire public, which states among other things:

Working people in science, like all Albanian intellectuals, are aware that the inexorable process of democratization is greatly complicated and burdened by the difficulties of today's economic crisis that is a consequence of the accumulated mistakes and problems of years. This situation cannot be overcome without moving to a market economy or without the mobilization and contribution of all the forces of the towns and the countryside, and especially without general national conciliation for the sake of the lofty interests of the homeland.

This is the only path that will create the necessary conditions to enable cooperation with foreign countries and foreign aid to yields their necessary fruits in all fields.

Our country is now in very dire straits. Some negative and obscurantist forces have committed destructive acts in conflict with the homeland's essential interests. Such phenomena, unknown up to this time in our society—

murders, insecurity among the people, regional divisions, and clashes between extremist forces—are creating the danger of violent confrontation. Various impossible demands and especially threats and ultimatums for their fulfillment are also further burdening and exacerbating the situation. To persist on this road would have tragic consequences for the Albanian nation.

To emerge from this situation requires the consistent implementation of democracy, observance of the demands that democracy lays on the rule of law, respect for the law by everybody, dialogue, tolerance, and understanding.

It is now more than ever the time to show ourselves to be patriots, civilized people, and genuine democrats, regardless of political convictions and party allegiances, and to set to work in all areas of life. This is the primary task of all social and political forces and all citizens.

The day of the free and pluralist elections of 31 March is approaching. The election period must be characterized by proper debate on the basis of electoral platforms, far removed from all prejudices and passions that confuse people's minds and hopes. Led by sound reason, a sense for the homeland's highest interests, and supporting the efforts of President Ramiz Alia to overcome the difficulties and to firmly establish the road of democracy, let us to raise the prestige of Albania and the Albanians to a higher level, and integrate Albania into the world and the currents of history. We express optimism for the country's future, and consider the homeland's freedom and independence, national unity, and genuine democracy to be necessary conditions for achieving, through labor and creative efforts, better days for today's generation and those to come.

[Signed] Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

[Dated] Tirana, 1 March 1991.

PPSh Holds News Conference, Discusses Policies

AU0103211491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] The Albanian Workers' Party [PPSh] organized a news conference this afternoon in one of the halls of the Tirana Party Committee with journalists of the press, ATA, the radio and television, and foreign journalists.

The news conference was opened by Comrade Muharrem Xhafa, head of the propaganda section in the apparatus of the PPSh Central Committee. Comrades Abdyl Backa and Spiro Dede, PPSh Central Committee secretaries, took part.

The main theme of the news conference was the PPSh's economic and social policies for the forthcoming legislature. The PPSh's representatives, explaining and analyzing the program and answering journalists' questions, stressed that the PPSh's entire electoral program aims to create a just and democratic society, in which everyone will be valued and remunerated according to his work and his contribution to society's progress. It is one of the PPSh's historic merits to have upheld these values, enriching them with the achievements of modern civilization. They assessed the current economic situation and said that this crisis cannot be overcome at once and that the way to emerge from it lies in the radical economic reform undertaken by the PPSh, replacing the system of command and centralized administration with market mechanisms. The new economic mechanism is an initial step toward the market economy. We are now at the opening stage of the economic reform. The PPSh believes that the transition to the market economy should be accomplished gradually, without threatening the economic and social interests of the broad working masses. The PPSh favors a market economy in which state, collective, and private property and joint property with foreign capital will coexist, while recognizing the state's regulating role.

On agrarian policy, the PPSh's representatives stressed the need to strengthen cooperativist democracy, so the cooperatives will be independent and will have broad scope for action, making agricultural collectivism apparent in a variety of forms of organization and pay that will encourage and respond to the initiative of cooperatives in different kinds of agricultural work and the initiative of peasant families for increasing production from their plots. Under our country's conditions, with a limited area of land, the advanced agrarian system that relies on the cooperative as a viable economic unit is in the interest of the peasantry themselves. Meanwhile, the PPSh will support the peasantry's initiative to develop other forms of cooperation that respond to the needs and conditions of different parts of the country.

The PPSh's program for the country's economic development, it was stressed at this news conference, implies significantly expanding economic, production, and financial cooperation with foreign partners, encouraging them to invest in Albania, and exploiting the advantages offered by the material and human resources of our country and its favorable climate and geographical position. In this way, joint enterprises and activities involving credit will accelerate the development of the economy, the employment of able-bodied forces, the supply of the market with consumer goods, and the integration of our country into Europe and the wider world.

The PPSh's representatives stressed that the implementation of the economic reform will be accompanied by better fulfillment of working people's social interests. The PPSh will support the state's measures to create favorable conditions for organizing citizens' economic migration. The PPSh considers that ways exist to normalize the migration of the population to the towns, while measures to introduce urban living standards to the countryside must not be abandoned. The PPSh will strive to tighten the legal and economic guarantees to protect citizens' personal and political interests. In the social sphere, its main aim is to secure a quiet life with

positive prospects, by preserving and consolidating such achievements as universal education and health services, the system of pensions and social security, state subsidies for certain basic and essential needs of the people, etc.

It was stressed at the news conference that the PPSh will work to ensure that increased production and the contribution of every citizen will be accompanied by improved working conditions, increased wages, shorter working hours, and easier conditions for worker and peasant women.

Cameria Association Holds Conference in Berat

AU0103220191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] The first conference of the Berat branch of the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association has been held at the Margarita Tutulani House of Culture in Berat. Muharrem Kasimi, member of the Initiating Commission of the Association, pointed out in his opening speech that the Cams [members of the Albanian minority in northern Greece] have worked and struggled alongside their sisters and brothers in Albania with honest toil and with lively cultural activities for education and knowledge. Those present were then told about the Association's program and statute and the need was stressed to solve the Cam issue by democratic means, within the principles and rights of international law recognized by the United Nations, and the CSCE's Helsinki and Paris Conferences. The doctor Afrim Ceto, the delegate of the Association's Initiating Commission, also spoke at the conference, stressing that the Cam population sees its destinies as closely tied with those of the Albanian people, and that it will not allow any party or other political force to use this issue to acquire political credit. The conference elected a managing council, a presidium, commissions for finance and cultural traditions, and delegates for the Association's general conference, to take place in Tirana.

Islamic Festival Observed at Tirana Mosque

AU0103214891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] A religious ceremony attended by believers was organized this morning in the Ethem Bey Mosque in Tirana on the occasion of the festival of the Blessed Night. (?Hazir Shabri Tosi), chairman of the Albanian Islamic Community [Bashkesia Islamike Shqiptare] spoke at this ceremony. Speaking to the believers, he called on them to live in peace and harmony among each other, because you are above all brothers. Islam orders us to make efforts for each other, to live and work in accordance with moral and legal principles, to work in the place where we are, and to take care of production with a religious conscience. Among other things, he said that love of the homeland stems from faith, and that we should be patriots with noble virtues and should observe all the duties of patriotism. Let us be tolerant in our views and our social and philosophical convictions, with the noble aim of helping our nation to flourish, according to the demands of the modern world.

Zhelev Hosts Reception on National Day

AU0303210191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] On 3 March at the Boyana Residence President Zhelyu Zhelev hosted an official reception on Bulgaria's national day. The reception was attended by the members of the Grand National Assembly, government, leaders of political parties, heads of religious communities and higher educational establishments, and representatives of the diplomatic corps.

President Zhelev read a brief speech. He pointed out that there were many cases in Bulgarian history when we were prevented from adopting an independent decision on our own destiny. Now for the first time we have the opportunity to decide alone our future and fate.

Further on Mr. Zhelev stressed that the Bulgarian people demonstrated that they are capable of successfully completing the peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy. We already created not only the elements of legislative democracy, he said, but also advanced toward the most difficult stage—the transition toward a market economy. We have the clear awareness that everything depends on our people. The success of the reform will depend first of all on the efforts and sacrifices of the Bulgarian people, however, we clearly understand that without the help of the developed countries we will have many difficulties.

In conclusion, Mr. Zhelev thanked all those who help Bulgaria in these difficult days for the people.

Zhelev's National Day Message

AU0303202191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev congratulated the Bulgarian people on the country's National Day. In his greetings message, he pointed out that Bulgaria is celebrating 3 March under conditions of profound social changes that are putting an end to a system, however, the escape from this system will be strenuous and will require exceptional willpower on the part of the nation.

The future of Bulgaria lies in democracy and stable, guaranteed human rights for all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin or nationality affiliation.

Government Leaders Attend Ceremony

AU0303135991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Today we testify our respect to Bulgaria's valiant sons and their memory. The monument of the unknown soldier is the symbol of those sons. Our reporter Yasen Boyadzhiev reports from the monument of the unknown soldier:

[Begin Boyadzhiev recording] The monument of the unknown soldier is Sofia's geographic center. A brief while ago wreaths were laid on behalf of the Presidency, the Council of Ministers, and the Grand National Assembly. President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev; Grand National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov, Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov; and members of the Grand National Assembly and the government are at the monument. An honor guard presented military honors. Hundreds of Sofia citizens attended the ceremony. The monument was covered with flowers. The words:

Bulgaria, they died for you

Be worthy of them,

As they were of you,

can be clearly read on the monument. This ends our relay from the monument of the unknown soldier. [end recording]

Political Reprisals Cost SDS Members Jobs

AU0303172791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Feb 91 p 4

[Georgi Vl. Popov report]

[Text] The economic nomenclature in southeast Bulgaria is conducting the "reform" according to its own laws of the jungle. Every day, the local offices of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] receive alarming news. Mincho Minchev, director of the INVEST-NOV Company in Burgas, dismissed an entire department of 30 persons with the sole aim of eliminating almost 20 members of "Podkrepa." For almost a year now, Dimitur Vangelov, director of MMTs [expansion unknown] in Primorsko and an avowed communist, has subjected dismissed "Podkrepa" members to privations. Similar winds are also blowing at the Red Banner Plant, the Instrument Building Works, the salt-producing enterprises, the Ocean Fisheries Enterprise, and others.

The Red directors at the Dinas Company, the "First of May" and "Arts" Labor Productive Cooperatives, and other enterprises in Sliven are playing dirty, unscrupulous games. SDS member Koyna Miteva, who was dismissed from her post as bookkeeper at the regional directorate of teaching procedures in Sliven, has been out of a job for six months. For taking part in last year's rally held by the militia officers of Sofia, Sergeants Ivan Donchev and Khristo Turlanov, militia officers in Sliven, were "punished" by their "supraparty" chiefs. Workers at the Sliven textile works and other enterprises admit that they have joined the Bulgarian Socialist Party because of fear of losing their jobs.

Interior Ministry Conference on Reorganization

AU0103185591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Today the Ministry of Internal Affairs held a conference on the government's and the ministry's policy for the further implementation of the reforms in Interior Ministry services. The conference was attended by Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov, and his deputy chairmen Dimitur Ludzhev and Aleksandur Tomov.

Minister Danov delivered a statement on the main functions, structures, aims, and tasks of the security and law-and-order services in the democratization of Bulgarian society.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov made a positive assessment of the reforms in the Internal Affairs Ministry, commenting that they are inseparable from the problems that the country and the government are resolving. The prime minister voiced confidence that the Interior Ministry services would unreservedly support the government and would not permit anyone to entertain ideas of utilizing the difficult battle for survival for other aims and benefits.

Government Releases More Newsprint From Reserves

AU0103201591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] We have received an announcement from the Public Council on the Press and Book Publishing, which states as follows:

In connection with the declaration by the Public Council on the Press and Book Publishing on 26 February, the meeting demanded by the council took place with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and his deputies Aleksandur Tomov and Dimitur Ludzhev. As a result of the talks held, the government decided, as an extreme measure, to release 500 tonnes of newsprint from the state's reserves and 1,000 tonnes of pulp for the production of newsprint and paper for journals and printing. It was accepted that this was the last possibility for releasing pulp and newsprint from the state reserves.

Regarding the question of the intergovernmental agreement on the import of 17,000 tonnes of newsprint from the Soviet Union, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov assured the council that two or three thousand tonnes would arrive in the near future. Of this, 500 tonnes would be allocated for the needs of the newspapers during March. The price at which newsprint would be sold during March will be 10,000 leva per tonne.

The government adopted the view that this was the last commitment it would assume regarding the supply of paper to newspapers and journals through state channels. As of April, all publications will have to purchase their paper on domestic and international markets.

Hoping that the government will fulfill its commitment to provide paper for the month of March, the Public Council refrains, for the moment, from making a call to the press, television, radio, and the BTA to stop work on 6 March.

The Public Council has decided that the paper guaranteed for March should be used only to satisfy the subscription circulations of the newspapers and journals in Sofia and throughout the country.

The Public Council accepts, as the only priority for paper supplies, the publication of students' textbooks and notebooks. It regards the allocation for other needs on a percentage basis would constitute an encroachment upon the market economy and freedom of the press.

Debt Commission Report Presented to Assembly

AU0103202391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] At its session today the Grand National Assembly debated the second reading of the draft law on arrangements for old debts relating to bank credits. Some final drafting work remains to be done on certain clauses and the concluding instructions of the draft law, which will be finally adopted at the Assembly's next session on Tuesday [5 March].

Under item two of the agenda for the plenary session—the report of the Legislative Commission on the Foreign Debt—Commission Chairman Mladen Savov delivered a report, which may be summarized as follows:

Since it was set up, the commission has held seven meetings, and a considerable amount of useful work has also been completed on its instructions, including an analysis of the dynamics and structure of the foreign debt over the last 10 years; an evaluation of the rise in the foreign debt; and conclusions regarding the responsibility of the relevant government authorities and individual persons. The commission has gathered information from former leaders of the Bulgarian National Bank, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, and has heard detailed explanations and answers from Andrey Lukanov regarding specific questions. At its next session, the commission will question former Prime Minister, Grisha Filipov.

The legislative members representing the Union of Democratic Forces again called for cadre changes in the composition of the commission, because they considered it improper that its members should include former ministers and banking leaders from the period under investigation. The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly was instructed to urgently prepare a proposal on the demanded changes.

Interior Minister in Kurdzhali; Unrest Continues

AU0303174691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Feb 91 p 1

[Radka Petrova report]

[Text] Kurdzhali, 25 February—This morning, schools in Kurdzhali were once again picketed in protest against the experimental introduction of Turkish language classes. At a number of schools, the pickets were removed with the aid of the law and order units and services from the public prosecutor's office, without the use of force. Despite this, no classes were held or only a few classes could be conducted, because some parents are not sending their children to school and some children have grown tired of waiting for the pickets at the school entrances to disappear. The result is that there are no classes in 25 schools in the municipality. In some of them, the reason is the introduction of Turkish

language teaching, while at the others people are demanding that Turkish classes be introduced without any experimental period.

During his visit to Kurdzhali on Saturday [23 February], Interior Minister Khristo Danov stated that the political forces are chiefly responsible for civil peace in Kurdzhali, and that the persons who are obstructing classes should be prosecuted. Minister Danov also pointed out that the services of law and order and the public prosecutor's office in Kurdzhali have acted, as they must do, in accordance with the law. The public is hoping that the school entrances will no longer be picketed tomorrow.

Today a parents committee published a document voicing the local population's concern over resolving the nationality issue, calling upon all parents to bring their children to school, and asking the political forces not to involve the children in their disputes. Today brought confirmation of last week's reports that the Kurdzhali teachers would declare a protest strike against the teaching of Turkish.

An appeal to the president was published, signed by Dimitur Arnaudov and Vyacheslav Spasov, leaders of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, and by Damyan Getev, leader of the Committee for Defense of National Interests in Kurdzhali. The document voices alarm over the dangerous trend towards recognizing the Turkish national minority in Bulgaria through granting collective rights to a single community, and goes on to appeal to the statesmen to whom the letter is addressed to publicly accept responsibility for this.

To date, 8,000 people in Kurdzhali have signed the demand for a moratorium on the government decisions connected with the nationality issue until a long-term concept on the nationality issue is developed.

Razgrad, Kurdzhali Strike Reported

AU0403112191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] The number of people partcipating in the Razgrad hunger strike has now reached 39. They are striking to protest the experimental Turkish language study. Some 17 of the strikers are pupils, two are students, and 20—adults.

The related hunger strike in Isperikh continues. Approximately nine parents are taking part in that action.

Only two Bulgarian pupils are attending elementary school classes in Khlebarovo.

Anka Marinova of Kubrat, mother of five, continues her hunger strike.

Some 4,000 signatures in support of the strikers have been collected in Razgrad. The meeting with Education Minister Prof. Matey Mateev ended without result. The strikers are protesting against the attempt to introduce Turkish language studies in an experimental manner. Most of the Muslims in the region also oppose any attempt to study the language in an experimental manner.

Members and supporters of the Bulgarian National Radical Party in Kurdzhali organized a 15 minute warning blockade of the traffic in the city. This action, which was announced at the 3 March party meeting, also is a protest against the experimental Turkish language program in Bulgarian schools. It was pointed out that it will be followed by a general blockade of traffic in the city, which according to the party leaders, will take place on 6 March if by then President Zhelyu Zhelev has not announced the suspension of the Turkish language program. According to party leaders, the planned blockade could develop into a strike that could prevent production in some industrial enterprises in the city.

Meanwhile, courses of study in the city continue to be disrupted. In 17 out of 79 educational establishments there are no classes because of the teacher's strike. They are also protesting against the teaching of the Turkish language in Bulgarian schools.

Kurdzhali Teachers on Strike

AU0103153791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Schools continue to be closed in Kurdzhali. Regular classes are being held only in the Electrical and Electronics Technical School, the Kiril and Metodiy Primary School, and a few other schools. Parents' committees have organized sit-ins at three schools. In 12 other schools, the teachers are on effective strike for the second day, and at one school the teaching staff is holding a token strike. These actions are in protest against the decision of the Ministry of National Education on introducing the teaching of Turkish on an experimental basis in Bulgarian schools in March.

The Borovitsa village school is also occupied, but the motives of the parents are quite different: They are expressing their disagreement with the protests against the introduction of Turkish teaching.

Today Milan Milanov, chairman of the interim executive committee of Kurdzhali Municipal People's Council, is expected to hold talks with representatives of the teachers strike committee concerning the legality of the strike announced in a declaration yesterday by the teachers in the town, who join in supporting the parents' demand for the repeal of the decision of the Ministry of National Education.

Our correspondent was given the above information by Mr. Yordan Kavalov, director of the regional directorate of national education.

Dienstbier on Abolition of Warsaw Pact

AU0103153891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 26 Feb 91 pp 1,4

[Gregor M. Papucsek report from Budapest: "Farewell to Arms (For the Time Being)"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[passage omitted] Our Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier was much sought after by foreign television and radio crews. Finally, he also devoted his time to VEREJNOST. My question was about the security of member states—that is, CSFR included—after they have left the Warsaw Pact and not yet joined other security structures, and whether our gradual integration toward the West will ensure our security. "It is necessary to proceed toward the creation of pan-European structures within the framework of the entire Helsinki process. However, this is a long-term task. All of us are trying to make use of all existing security structures and, in fact, the only functioning structure is NATO. There also is the Western European Union and the establishment of political and security aspects [aspekty] for the European Communities is also being considered. All this must be completed with various bilateral agreements in order to gradually establish mutual links and to create a situation in Europe in which relations between European countries would resemble those between Sweden and Norway, for example," was Jiri Dienstbier's answer. Yet, I was interested in a different "detail", that is, whether something else will not threaten us in the meantime. "This interval," said J. Dienstbier, "will depend on the actual development of the security situation. If the security situation remains the same as it is now, we can work in peace on the creation of new long-term structures. However, in case of some catastrophic variant, we must be prepared, of course, to adopt such solutions as will be necessary." [passage omitted]

Dienstbier, Dobrovsky Discuss Pact Meeting

AU0103170491 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky by Jiri Doubrava; en route from Budapest to Prague on 25 February: "A Collection of Superpens"—first paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] [Doubrava] I noticed that when you added the last of your six signatures you waved your pen triumphantly in the air and then put it in your pocket. Are you, by chance, putting together a collection of pens with which important documents have been signed?

[Dienstbier] I still have the pen with which I signed the treaty on the withdrawal of [Soviet] troops from Czechoslovakia, and now I have this one. Which pen will be next? I am unable to say in advance what we still have to sign. I also wanted to save the pen from the Council of Europe, but there was a bit of a mix up there and, moreover, we had to sign other documents. Therefore, upon returning to the table we discovered there were no pens, and so we had to use our own. In the last few days, it seems that the course of events has speeded up incredibly—one thing is happening after another. However, I have to say that we worked for many months on all of them.

[Doubrava] What happened when you were preparing the Budapest meeting? Were there any major problems?

[Dienstbier] This meeting should have been held in the second half of November or even in October. There was a problem then. When we unequivocally said that we want to abolish the military structures by the end of this June, and when we reached an agreement on this with the Poles and the Hungarians—the Bulgarians also expressed themselves in favor of it and the Romanians adopted a similar point of view—Gorbachev came up with the idea of holding a meeting straight away and of abolishing the structures by the end of March. I do not think there was any special political motive here. In my opinion, the situation in the Soviet Union is such that it absorbs all the local political officials' energy. Abolishing the Warsaw Pact's military structures, which no longer de facto exist, was one of the last items on their agenda.

[Doubrava] Six dozen signatures were required on the Budapest document—two ministers signed on behalf of each side. The very last person to sign was Czechoslovak Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky. Mr. Minister, did it occur to you—shall we say a year ago—that you would be the person to "dot the very last i"?

[Dobrovsky] No. A year ago I was in a compietely different situation and was involved in completely different things. The truth is it occurred to me when I was still working as deputy foreign minister that we had to try to abolish the Warsaw Pact's military structures. This was one of the main theses on which we based the substance of our new foreign policy. However, let me emphasize that it is not at all important who signed last. This is the result of a lot of joint work by representatives from all member countries, including the Soviets. It was difficult and it was complicated. We began our work last March at a meeting of Warsaw Pact representatives in Prague's Hotel Praha. Now we have completed it. That is, we have completed it formally because the military structures ceased to exist long ago. One more formal step awaits us: finding a method of tactfully concluding the Warsaw Pact's activity in the political sphere. I think the discussions on this will be calm and free of conflict.

[Doubrava] Do you think NATO will welcome the complete abolition of the Warsaw Pact? After all, it will lose its partner in disarmament talks.

[Dobrovsky] This is not the case. We have negotiated at the national and regional levels. At the same time, I think there is nothing holding us back from establishing a

working group which would resolve ad hoc possible problems affecting all former Warsaw Pact members in specific issues.

Soviet Troops To Leave by 30 June

LD0203035791 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] The departure of the central group of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and the southern group of the troops of Hungary will be carried out by 30 June 1991. This is stated by Lieutenant General Gherman Burutin, first deputy chief of a main department of Soviet Armed Forces General Staff. According to him, between 1987 and 1991, 223,000 Soviet soldiers have been withdrawn from Eastern Europe and Mongolia.

Havel on Domestic, International Situation

AU0303160091 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 2-3 Mar 91 p 4

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Jindrich Lion in Prague; date not given: "I Had To Correct Many Opinions"]

[Text] [Lion] Mr. President, what has changed in the CSFR since you came into office?

[Havel] First of all I would like to mention the positive things: The last units of the Soviet Army are leaving our country, the first free elections in 42 years took place, the Parliament passed many laws for the creation of a democratic rule-of-law state, we again have complete freedom of speech and assembly, the barbed wire at our borders, which had turned our state into one big prison, was removed; people can freely travel to foreign countries, freedom of religion was reestablished, the world recognizes us again as an independent democratic state, and the scenario for economic reform was developed.

[Lion] During our first talk one year ago, you gave a negative answer to my question of whether Czechoslovakia was facing unemployment, inflation, and other difficulties like those that prevailed in Poland at that time.

[Havel] It turned out that the heritage of the past was far worse than we assumed. What appeared to be a neglected house one year ago turned out to be a ruin. I was too much of an optimist. Our economists developed analyses and forecasts, but they were unable to predict unexpected events, such as the Gulf war or the destabilization in the USSR. Last year I learned many new things and had to correct many opinions.

[Lion] Do you regret that you complied with the general wish and accepted the burden of the president's office?

[Havel] I cannot say that I regret it, but I would have thought about it for a longer time if I had known what I know today.

[Lion] Many CSFR citizens are against any retaliation, but they voice criticism that leading politicians and functionaries of the communist regime continue to live in unlawfully allotted or requisitioned luxurious villas, get far higher pensions than their former victims, and are not called to account for their criminal actions. Do you have a different opinion?

[Havel] No. I repeatedly stressed that all mistakes of the past must be unambiguously assessed—and this has not be done yet. Only then can and must the legislative power make up for all injustice. Crimes must be punished, but this is the task of the independent judiciary, and the abolition of grievances takes time, so that new injustice is not done. We also must not fail to see the phenomenon of penance and forgiveness. In the totalitarian system many people participated in the cynical policy, but we can only prosecute those who committed offenses. I am convinced that the new law on out-of-court rehabilitation will help to resolve this situation.

[Lion] Regarding the international situation and its influence on events in the CSFR: Are you of the opinion that the dissolution of Yugoslavia will influence the separatist tendencies in Slovakia?

[Havel] I do not think that the situation in Yugoslavia will influence Slovakia since the situation there is completely different. The decision to divide an existing state must be in line with the wish and the political will of the population, not of some functionaries. Therefore, I am of the opinion that it should be specified in the new constitution that only a referendum can decide on constitutional law changes. I do not think that this will happen in our country.

[Lion] How can the current disintegration of the Soviet Union influence developments in Europe? Are you still of the opinion that the West should do everything to save Gorbachev?

[Havel] Of course, the events in the USSR are very important for world politics and will above all strongly influence the political development of Europe. Therefore, it is in the interest of all that the restructuring in the USSR be peacefully implemented. Regarding Gorbachev, I think that one should back principles and ideals more than personalities.

[Lion] Relations between Austria and the CSFR have recently deteriorated because of the dispute over the Bohunice nuclear power plant. Do you understand the fear of the Austrian people?

[Havel] Czechoslovakia is objectively dealing with the solution of this complicated problem, and a special expert commission is currently examining all possibilities. I understand the fear of the Austrians, but the considerations also concern our citizens and people in other countries. Unfortunately we depend completely on nuclear energy. However, I do not believe that this problem should cloud the good-neighborly relations.

[Lion] In your last press briefing you mentioned a new stage play. Does this mean you want to return to your literary work, while you are still the head of state?

[Havel] I worked on something before the revolution, but then I had other problems and threw the manuscript away. Today the topic occupies me again, but I have no time to write it down. My plays do not take place in a specific time period or country. Therefore, the idea from the time before the revolution continues to be topical. The topic and the motives are inspired by Shakespeare's King Lear. They deal with the problems of a man who loses his political function and position and whose world breaks down as a consequence. However, as I have already said, at present I have no time for writing.

[Lion] If you are asked again, would you run again in presidential elections?

[Havel] Such a decision depends on the actual situation. As you know, my term only expires in one year, and many things may have happened by that time. First of all, new political personalities who are more qualified for the function of head of state might appear. It is also possible that my unpopularity will assume such proportions that nobody will propose me as a candidate. Therefore, I do not want to anticipate the events; however, you can believe that I regard my present function as a service to my country, and I do not hold this office because the powerful position satisfies me or because I want to derive advantage from it. I would certainly have an easier, nicer, and calmer life if I were not the president.

Klaus on Consequences of Delayed Privatization

AU0103174191 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Feb 91 p 3

[Article by Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus: "Adverse Consequences of Delayed Privatization"]

[Text] Small privatization is beginning to take off, and its first results are encouraging, yet we are still worried that in a number of places in our state—above all in Slovakia—small privatization is being postponed and its implementation is still not on the horizon. Haste would certainly be a mistake—after failure at one auction, potential buyers must have the opportunity to choose other business. However, in our everyday life we soon need to see and experience tangible results reflected in the changed behavior of the retail trade.

Small privatization was conceptually, legislatively, and organically much easier than large privatization, and that is why we should leave the course of small privatization up to privatization commissions, auctioneers, and buyers at auctions and fully concentrate on passing the law on large privatization, on the preparation of subsequent edicts detailing this key economic maneuver, and on the start of large privatization itself.

Who are the opponents of this process, and what are their objectives?

The opponents of this process are, above all, those who, for ideological reasons, are not convinced that a private enterprise functions better than a state enterprise, who believe that ownership relations are of secondary importance, who believe that the quality of management or purchase of the most modern technical or technological equipment from abroad is of utmost importance, and who believe that merging state enterprise with a foreign partner or the artificially construed scheme of the employee stock ownership plan (ESOP)—which has never proved to be efficient despite the fact that it was tailored to the economy based on private ownership and not on state ownership—can save us.

The opponents of this process are also those who, due to privatization, would lose their privileges that they enjoy today, their power, and their high incomes and who would lose a highly lucrative opportunity to abuse the postponing of privatization for spontaneous and uncontrolled privatizations, either in the form of establishing peculiar joint stock companies or equally suspicious enterprises with foreign capital participation (joint ventures). Passing the law on large privatization will immediately block these procedures, which will be a great relief to all of us.

There are also opponents of this process among ministry officials of all the three existing governments, who, due to denationalization, will lose their unbridled opportunities to dispose of property so large that even a Western millionaire has never dreamed of it. These people, too, do not need any privatization because it would soon become apparent that enterprises can do well even without their orders or advice.

To summarize all the aforementioned—privatization is blocked and put off by:

- Adherents to all types of socialist thinking—supporters of various perestroykas and not of the implementation of a real market economy;

- Surviving cadres in our entrepreneurial sphere;

- Past and present state bureaucracy.

The issue is that the rest of us can be pushed to the background if we do not make it clear that we have a unique and the only opportunity to settle scores with the past economic system once and for all. Not so long ago, the World Economic Forum was held in Davos, and one of the main points on its agenda was how to ensure economic growth in Central and Eastern Europe. A question was raised concerning whether or not there is only one economic factor. There are, undoubtedly, more factors, but it was stated that only one of them is decisive—and this factor is privatization.

The Czechoslovak draft for the privatization method and process is unique in many aspects, and if it is passed by parliament in the form in which it has been drafted by

the government, then it will provide an opportunity to implement privatization quickly and efficiently. The counterproposals directed toward the suppression of the importance of nonstandard privatization methods (investment coupons) and, on the contrary, stress the role of the National Property Funds (that is, to give them certain entrepreneurial, and not only formal function), damage the very foundations of the overall idea. The investment coupons method is more and more appreciated by economists from all over the world, while, on the contrary, the centralist and bureaucratic control of privatization (so unsuccessfully demonstrated by the German institution called Treuhandanstalt, created by the former communist regime of Hans Modrow) is more and more condemned by all.

Let us try to speedily pass the privatization law and, even more importantly, to implement it as soon as possible.

'Crucial' Big Privatization Law Adopted

AU0103143391 Prague CTK in English 0802 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CTK)—The daily MLADA FRONTA DNES today described the law on "big privatization" approved by the Czechoslovak parliament yesterday as "the end of the communist doctrine based on the appropriation of all means of production by the ruling party".

However, the mere adoption of the law by the Federal Assembly will not bring prosperity. It is vital for the country to have soon a new middle class of entrepreneurs and owners of small and medium-sized firms who will become pioneers of economic prosperity. "Only such free and independent citizens can be immune to the poison of state ideologies and can effectively counter the will of bureaucratic and Mafia cliques.", the paper wrote.

In reports on the parliamentary session newspapers note that one of the methods to be used in this privatization of factories and large enterprises in Czechoslovakia will be coupons for citizens. Every Czechoslovak citizen over 18, permanently residing in the country, will be entitled to the coupon. They will be issued by the Finance Ministry. The types of the coupons and their value are to be determined by the Federal Government after agreement with the Czech and Slovak Governments.

The law on big privatization was approved by 189 members of the 300-member bicameral Assembly. Only one more law on land is now to come before the Federal Assembly to complete the full range of legislation crucial for the large-scale privatization projected in Czechoslovakia. These laws included the laws on "small" and "big" privatizations and on judicial and extrajudicial restitutions.

Klaus Emphasizes Importance of Curbing Inflation

AU0103205491 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK report: "We Will Put the Brake on Inflation"]

[Text] Most—"I am convinced that prior to the next parliamentary elections we will succeed in putting the brake on current inflation; our aim is to minimize economic decline and not to make promises about spectacular successes," said Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus at a meeting held yesterday in Most's completely packed sports hall. The meeting's participants very positively accepted Vaclav Klaus' report on the sales tax reduction on private cars. Apropos the discussion on increasing fuel prices, the finance minister stated that—among other things—Valtr Komarek's negative point of view was not previously known to him.

Public Against Violence Group Meets Officials

LD0103065991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek was visited today by a Public Against Violence [PAV] delegation headed by the movement's Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal. They discussed, in particular, the work of the PAV council's political commission for drawing up the constitutions. Fedor Gal and other PAV representatives also met Federal Premier Marian Calfa. They focused on the situation in PAV following the recent congress and on methods of cooperation between the representatives of the movement in the Federal Government and Federal Assembly.

The PAV representatives also had talks with members of the Preparatory Committee of the Civic Movement, which is one of the two entities that have come into being within Civic Forum, with Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova. They discussed the problems of the constitutions. Fedor Gal explained that the Slovak side wants work on them to proceed along the lines of political consensus. Focusing on screenings, Fedor Gal noted that the PAV congress had reached the unambiguous view that constitutional officials had to be clean in all respects. However, he does not wish the screenings to extend beyond the framework of constitutinal officials.

Parties Talk of 'Natural' Partnership

LD2802224491 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] A Public Against Violence [PAV] delegation headed by its council's chairman Fedor Gal had talks in Prague today with Vaclav Klaus, a representative of the Civic Democratic Party, one of Civic Forum's [OF] emerging factions. After the meeting Fedor Gal said that both politicians agreed that CF and PAV remain natural partners in implementing the conclusions of the election campaign. They will attempt to exert an influence on the deputies' clubs to work together in tackling specific problems.

Fedor Gal and Vaclav Klaus were united in the view that PAV and all OF's factions will coordinate their efforts in tackling important key issues. PAV does not feel a need

to give preference to any faction within OF; on the contrary it wants to work together with everyone. It further emerged from Fedor Gal's words that both politicians agreed that the party which Vaclav Klaus is founding will not be a federal one, but that does not mean that individuals from Slovakia who show an interest in joining the Civic Democratic Party will be rejected.

The PAV delegation also had a meeting today with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, to brief him on the recent republican-level congress that the prime minister had been obliged to leave early for health reasons.

Government Plans Housing Policy Reform

AU0103172191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Feb 91 pp 1,2

["ms"-signed report: "From a Session of the CSFR Tripartite Council"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [At the 26 February session of the CSFR Council of Economic and Social Accord] Engineer Ota Karen, government commissioner for housing policy, informed members of the tripartite council about the principles of housing policy reform. [passage omitted]

The basic principle is that rent must cover the depreciation of apartment houses and operating and basic maintenance costs. This is known as the so-called partly economic [ekonomizovane] rent, which does not, for the time being, enable return on the capital invested in the apartment's construction. As far as new houses built with help from the state are concerned, it is being proposed that the rents be fixed at an economic level [na ekonomicke urovni], which means that the rent should cover costs plus a regulated profit. With respect to newly concluded lease agreements for apartments in privately owned houses, a diversified [variantni] fixing of the rent is being proposed, with an upper limit being the only restriction. The proposal for rents in new houses built without state assistance is that the rent be fixed without any restrictions, on the basis on an agreement between the owner and the user.

The partly economic rent should be introduced in two stages, the first of which, planned for 1 July [1991], would entail the elimination of the until now essential operating subsidies. This would increase rents in state-owned and company-owned apartments approximately to the level of rents in cooperative apartments. The Czech Republic bodies consider a 180 percent increase in rents in state-owned and enterprise-owned apartments, while Slovak Republic bodies consider a 100 percent increase. The second stage should be implemented in the course of next year. It should enable individual fixing of rents according to local conditions and eliminate the present categorization of apartments on the basis of quality. [passage omitted]

Extent of Public Readiness To Protest Surveyed

AU0103204991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 28 February on page 6 carries a 600-word Jan Misovic report entitled "Do People Want To Act in a Radical Way?" The report reviews the results of a public opinion survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Institute between 29 January and 4 February on the extent of readiness "to undertake something against the government" to express disagreement with its policies. The survey was based on replies by 1,063 Czechs and Slovaks above 15.

Asked whether they would "undertake something" to show disapproval of "government decisions threatening the interests of the majority of the population," 18 percent of Czechs and Slovaks declared yes, 6 percent said that they would do so "under specific circumstances," 56 percent replied that "they would like to but cannot" do anything, while 5 percent declared that they would not do anything, and 15 percent were "unable to make up their minds." The greatest degree of willingness to "undertake something" was in the 30 to 44 age bracket (24 percent) and among university graduates (24 percent). The willingness was much greater in big cities (21 percent) than in rural communities (5 percent).

Asked about the method of protest, 7 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 7 percent in the Slovak Republic said that they would demonstrate and 2 percent in the Czech Republic and 5 percent in the Slovak Republic said they would opt for a strike. The others would appeal to the trade unions, their deputies, or the media.

According to Misovic, the proportion of people ready to protest the government's decisions has slightly increased since the last such survey in October when 14 percent of respondents were ready to show their disapproval.

Calfa Discusses CEMA, Economy, Political Events

LD0203123191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1850 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded; reporter speaks in Czech]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, what are your feelings and thoughts at the news that the Gulf war has ended?

[Calfa] First of all, great relief because when a big state attacks a small one and gets due retribution for it, then there must always be the feeling that justice has prevailed—so much for the moral aspect. As for the economic aspect, we work in the government, and therefore a period is beginning for us in which we will be able to cooperate economically in that region. There has been a large deficit there—about 1.5 billion [currency not specified]—in our trade turnover partly because there was an embargo, partly because all trading contacts were frozen. It is an area in which we are interested and that is interested in us, so from the economic viewpoint it may be that a period of further economic cooperation and unblocking of these economic ties is beginning. All this together produces a good feeling as far as that news is concerned.

[Reporter] Going back to the past, it is no secret that we used to supply weapons to that region.

[Calfa] We used to supply weapons to only one part of that region. Iraq is relatively well equipped partly with our weaponry, above all heavy tanks. That, of course, ended a long time ago, and my view is that we have every reason not to supply any more weapons to that region, and in any case I believe the international community, too, above all the European Community, is beginning to re-think and is publicly adopting this line of thinking. [passage omitted]

The Public Against Violence [PAV] Congress was really a legitimate one as it was preceeded by district congresses which meant that the entire structure of the organs of PAV had been subject to elections—the congress was a legitimate one and therefore it was capable of outlining further course of action.

Though there are voices on the contrary, my fundamental view is that PAV is a compact, unified movement. Of course there are different views within it on how to tackle various questions, but PAV simply takes a unified course of action and therefore it provides us with a totally different picture than Civic Forum does.

The structure of PAV organs was confirmed and in fact its leadership was confirmed. These are very positive things and in the tense political situation existing in Czechoslovakia it represents a rather stable element. [passage omitted]

I do not think that the main reason for entreprises' problems is government's currency and credit policy, the main reason is marketing crisis.

Czechoslovak industry was simply unequivocally orientated at the Soviet market and markets of the former CMEA and these markets are simply not available any more. The industry continues to produce, products are available, industry has its supplies which are bought on credit and industry thus gets into very difficult financial conditions.

This is therefore not a question of credits, this is not a question of the restrictive credit and currency policy—this is really the question of marketing crisis.

That is why when looking at it from this point of view we understandably have to look for solutions in this direction—these solutions are that we have to find markets for what we produce. This is one thing.

The other thing is that since the beginning of the year we have witnessed several waves of an increase of prices—a multiple increase, increase of several hundred times, several times and sometimes even several hundred times—which one enterprise charges another one; increases which have no justification at all. These increases have been snowballing, and suddenly entreprises do not have enough money for trading among themselves. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] People widely discuss the issue of the census—could you tell me what you think as the prime minister about the claim that confidentiality will be broken, that the data will be misused, about the dilemma whether people should or should not provide this kind of information?

[Calfa] The hysteria that developed around this issue is incredible, even though these things have already been explained several times. This census is simply something that is being carried out in every civilized state, all over the world, in about 10-year intervals. The forms used for it are unified above all because the data gained in this way are being used not only for Czechoslovak statistics but also for international statistics and therefore we have to gain compatible data with, for instance, UN statistics.

The other thing is that information will be included which will be revealed for the first time—for instance regarding religious affiliation. The representatives of the religious communities would also like to know what is in fact the situation in the field of religion after those 40 years of communist regime. [passage omitted]

Moravians Demonstrate for 'Tripartite Federation'

LD0203192291 Prague CTK in English 1509 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Brno March 2 (CTK)—Thousands of Moravians participated today in demonstrations organized in the Moravian towns of Brno, Ostrava and Olomouc by the Self-Government Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia and demanding a tripartite federation in Czechoslovakia.

In Brno demonstrators from all over Moravia approved an appeal to the leading representatives of Czechoslovakia, the Czech and the Slovak Republics. It included the demand for a new budget of the Czech Republic in which Moravia and Silesia "would receive what they have a right to", for the adoption of laws which would speed up the introduction of a regional setup based on a self-government and federative principle, for a tripartite

federation embodied in a new constitution and for Moravia's and Silesia's autonomy as a transitory stage towards tripartite federation.

According to the organizers the demonstration was attended by about 50,000 people.

In the North Moravian town of Ostrava several thousand demonstrators demanded a tripartite federation. Deputy for the movement in the federal parliament Vaclav Tomis spoke of economic and political discrimination against Moravia and Silesia and of the growing support of citizens of Moravia and Silesia for a constitutional recognition of these two historical lands.

He said that according to the latest public opinion poll the Civic Forum would receive only 23 percent of votes in Moravia, the Self-Government Democracy Movement 18 percent and other parties less than 10 percent each.

About 4,000 protested the discrimination against Moravia and Silesia in the North Moravian town of Olomouc. Nine political parties and movements participated in the demonstration, including the Civic Forum (OF). OF deputy in the Czech parliament Rudolf Bereza's address was the only one which provoked a wave of indignation as he claimed that the Self-Government Democracy Movement leaders are people who want to misuse the idea of Moravianism for attaining personal aims.

Jan Kadlec, chairman of the Self-Government Democracy Movement club in the Czech parliament, said he will be member of a delegation of deputies representing all political parties which will inform the Czechoslovak president next week of the true state of affairs in Moravia.

Further on Actions

LD0303172191 Prague CTK in English 1503 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Brno, March 3 (CTK)—Moravians demonstrating in Brno yesterday were not nationalistic groups but people demanding a more just approach of the central political institutions to the territory of Moravia and Silesia, showed interviews with the participants.

A total of 217 demonstrators were polled during the gathering by representatives of the Brno branch of the Institute for the Research of Public Opinion. Head of the branch Miroslav Foret told a news conference today that 85 percent of people who gathered at Svoboda Square in Brno came there to participate in the demonstration (in the middle of the demonstration about 10,000 persons were at the square).

According to the poll, 20 percent came to support autonomy or independence of Moravia and Silesia and federative setup, 18 percent demanded a better position of Moravia and Silesia in the state and 15 percent demanded a more just division of the budget and a better economic position of Moravia and Silesia. The demonstrators were mostly people of the 30-50 age group (42 percent).

KSCM Moravian, Silesian Council Established

AU0103194891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 91 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Briefly From Home" column: "A Moravian and Silesian Council for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia"]

[Text] A Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] Moravian and Silesian Council [Rada KSCM pro Moravu a Slezsko] was established in Prerov yesterday. The 25-member organ, established from Moravian and Silesian KSCM Central Committee members and representatives of all districts in North and South Moravia and the Svitava District, is chaired by Ivan Pukancik from Breclav.

Dobrovsky, Kolodziejczyk Sign Military Agreement

AU0103150391 Prague CTK in English 2056 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw Feb 27 (CTK correspondent)—Defence Ministers of Czechoslovakia and Poland Lubos Dobrovsky and Piotr Kolodziejczyk signed here today an agreement on the main trends of cooperation in the military sphere.

Dobrovsky told newsmen that this document does not provide for the creation of a military pact, nor does it substitute the recently abolished military structures of the Warsaw Pact. "The document has no aspect of establishing military cooperation in case of threat", he said. In his opinion, the agreement creates prerequisites for the improvement of the flow of information on the situation in the two countries' armies and for coordination in arms modernization.

Dobrovsky said that the transit of Soviet troops from Germany via Czechoslovakia was not under discussion. He, however, offered Czechoslovakia's experiences in the Soviet withdrawal.

The minister spoke about his meeting with Polish President Lech Walesa. Walesa evaluated the political situation after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact military structures and after all the great changes in Europe, putting emphasis on the respect for geopolitical situation. Dobrovsky said this was close to his conceiving of things.

Asked whether Czechoslovakia and Poland prepare the signing of agreements on military cooperation within the Pentagonal group (Austria, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia), Dobrovsky recalled the signing of a similar agreement with his Hungarian counterpart recently. Now he does not intend to conclude such an agreement with any country's Defense Ministry but he

did not exclude such a possibility in the future. Kolodziejczyk confirmed that Poland wants to conclude a similar agreement with Hungary.

According to Dobrovsky, Czechoslovakia is interested in concluding a bilateral agreement with the Soviet Union, just as with all its neighbors, but it is not supposed to be an agreement on military cooperation.

Interior Ministry Accused of Aiding Foreign Spies

AU0103190691

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak and Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 February publish 800 to 1,000-word correspondents' reports on the 27 February joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers. The agenda included, next to the debate on and approval of the bill on the Constitutional Court (see referent item), deputies' interpellations.

According to an 800-word "ju"-signed NARODNA OBRODA report, published on pages 1 and 2, the greatest attention was aroused by an interpellation addressed by Richard Sacher, deputy for the Christian and Democratic Union and a former federal minister of interior, to Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos: "In his interpellation R. Sacher criticized the intention to transform the Interior Ministry's Technical Administration into a shareholding company, a move that, in his opinion, is motivated by private interest and profit-seeking. He said that he was shocked to find out that the technical administration's workplace, which every state keeps in the strictest secrecy, has become as excursion place for foreigners. In concluding, R. Sacher said that, thanks to Minister Langos' deputy, the department is in a state of disintegration and unable to safeguard the state's protection against economic, political, and diplomatic espionage and against terrorism."

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word "sc"-signed report on the Federal Assembly session. The report quotes Sacher as having said: "The Technical Administration of the Federal Ministry of Interior develops and produces technology for our security forces. It has state-of-the-art chemical laboratories. The value of its technical equipment is estimated at 2.5 billion korunas. Peculiar things have been happening around the technical administration of late. I was shocked when I learned that this workplace, the likes of which every state keeps in the strictest secrecy because it employs top experts and because it has a number of patents that have not been registered to prevent exposure [dekonspirace], has been visited by a certain Swedish firm during an excursion. This intellectual wealth is now about to become a shareholding company, in return for an investment of around 500,000 German marks, from which someone else will profit."

According to Alena Ruzkova's 1,000-word report on the Federal Assembly session in Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, Sacher also criticized the fact that "according to the words of Jan Langos in a recent television discussion, 700 former secret police members work in the shadowing service."

Radioactive Waste Dump Being Prepared in Mochovce

AU0103191791 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] A disposal site for radioactive waste is being prepared in Mochovce and will be part of the nuclear power plant. Low and intermediate-level radioactive waste from nuclear power plants in Slovakia will be stored in it. The site will not be used for storing spent fuel. Waste to be stored in the site will be reinforced beforehand—it will be poured with concrete into 200-liter barrels. These will then be placed in concrete cells measuring 6 by 15 meters. It is important to ensure that the waste is isolated from the surrounding environment for at least 300 years. Clay sealing roughly 1 to 4 meters from the bottom and the sides will fulfill these conditions.

Goncz on System Change, Presidential Powers

LD0103051791 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1945 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Mester in the "News Background" studio; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mester] I greet President Arpad Goncz with great respect in the studio of "News Background". Mr. President, you have frequently emphasized the extraordinary importance of the relations between the society and politics. I think that it is especially true now. I also think that this issue has some real political meaning.

[Goncz] I think that this always has some real political meaning. I cannot imagine any successful policy without the knowledge of social reality. Furthermore, I would say that the dynamic balance of political and social processes is the sign of self-functioning democracy.

[Mester] The question is whether some important turn in politics has come with the change in the system. Policy had been dictating to society for a long time. Do you believe that this is the other way now? Is the situation the same now? Do politics dictate social processes?

[Goncz] I would say that politics is trying to dictate. This is more or less a hopeless task, because the relations between the two are just like the relations between a ship and a river. Society represents the river.

[Mester] This is fine, but why has it remained so? This means that the change we hoped for has not taken place after all.

[Goncz] There is no full connection between the two. I believe that it is undoubtedly that we have created the framework for a democratic institution or system. [passage omitted] The development, however, the transformation of society, which more or less will be (?simultaneous) with the transformation of economic life, has not yet been completed. [passage omitted]

[Mester] I read in yesterday's NEPSZAVA that during the taxi drivers' blockade the government almost went so far as to pass a resolution that it would deploy the military to break up the demonstration. According to yesterday's NEPSZAVA, three or four military experts dissuaded the government from this plan. In today's NEPSZABADSAG, however, I read that it as you who prevented the deployment of the military. What is the truth?

[Goncz] I do not know about the three or four military experts. If they had been involved, then perhaps it was without my knowledge. I telephoned the military commander at exactly 1030. I made myself a note, because prior to that I had received a telephone report that military formations with technical military equipment were to be deployed to break up the blockade. On the one hand, this was unconstitutional without the consent of the National Assembly; on the other hand, I formed the judgement on the situation that the deployment of the military was extraordinarily dangerous politically. I called upon the commander not to deploy military formations to maintain order in any case. [passage omitted]

[Mester] As the taxi drivers' blockade is on the National Assemnbly's agenda, and we saw a remarkable dispute at the beginning of the week, one wonders how close the people in the upper level of politics are to those whose good offices and confidence have raised them to this high public office. Do they not sometimes forget whose confidence has elevated them to such heights?

[Goncz] I am not certain that the question of confidence comes up in situations like this. I would say that a politician in a situation like this is under pressure to take measures. [passage omitted]

[Mester] The popularity poll of several politicians carried out by the Szonda Public Opinion Research Institute appeared in today's NEPSZABADSAG. You are in the first place, Gabor Demszky second, Miklos Nemeth third, Gabor Fodor fourth, and Gyula Horn fifth, but I do not want to go through the whole list. I am not saying that it is based on this list, but my impression in general is—and I am interested in your opinion whether or not you agree with what I say—that people favor those politicians whose political attitude and behavior is lacking haughtiness, self-importance, and animosity, who do not want to heighten situations at any costs, who are not confrontational. Do you agree?

[Goncz] This is very likely to be true. [passage omitted]

I do not think that one can lie on the screen. One's face, one's eyes, can be seen; one's personality transpires. I could try to be different, but I think I would not be different from what I am despite all efforts. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Now, Mr. President, what fear forces us to servility?

[Goncz] I can see some significant fear in Hungary, existential as well as political. This society, although not to such an extent as during communism, is living in fear. I believe that the main part of it is existential fear. At this very moment we cannot give full freedom to the people owing to financial reasons. Nor can we provide security, also due to the transition; however, we can give something, and we will have to give this. Predictability and lucidity in politics; in each of our words on the one hand, and the right to participate instead of security, the right to have a say in our own fate, on the other. [passage omitted]

[Mester] There are some people who would consider pre-World War I Hungary a model. This is problematic because it is far from certain that a plain-of-mirages, spur-jingling, feathered Hungary has a function in the modern Europe.

[Goncz] [passage omitted] The fact that a country, after a change of regime, is uncertainly looking for nostalgia

for itself is completely understandable. I have said before that I am an incorrigible republican; therefore, I can see as an anchor for the ship of Hungary the [revolution of] 1848, partly because it was socially progressive and it was unambiguously seeking national independence. No greater demand can be made than the liberation of the country. The other anchor could be 1956, which yet again strove for independence. Second, it was completely and fully progressive. After all, no one can deny that the main actors of 1956 were the industrial workers who, during the era of communism, were practically kept in the state of serfs, despite the fact that we were told nothing else but that they were the possessors of power.

Both were the seeds for the evolution of a kind of bourgeois, civil society. Both broke fundamentally with the attitude of subjects and were moving toward the behavior of the bourgeoisie. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Is there no danger in this nostalgia?

[Goncz] Of course there is. Everyone who seeks this is inclined to pass the problems onto others. We may go back to the time when the Pechenegs chased us out, but there is little sense doing so. Now we slowly reach the stage in politics when neither the Russians, the communists, nor anybody else can be blamed. What is not done today is what we ourselves fail to do. There is only one road for the recovery from the horrible trauma that Trianon meant and that is palpable even today. That is that we look forward to the 21st century, not backward.

[Mester] Because you mention it, do you think it would be rather difficult to shape a peaceful, hiccup-free, good relationship with our neighbors if we recall aloud again and again our historical hurts?

[Goncz] I generally do not believe that there should be a need to talk about an ailment. It is not a subject for discussion. At the same time, it is an undoubted need of the soul to speak about these issues. It is not certain that discretion or indiscretion is the primary issue in this regard. We owe only as much discretion as to ensure that our sadness should not be aimed against others. I am convinced that the unavoidable—and in the new Europe it is even more so—road for ensuring the survival of the Hungarians in the neighboring countries is if frank, good-willed cooperation is formed. If you look, the Hungarians in these countries today are a policy-shaping factor and are well aware of their own interests. It is here that we must be strong to be able to provide support. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Prior to the Visegrad meeting, a kind of debate evolved as to whether you should participate in this and who should sign the trilateral agreement on Hungary's behalf. After this, you had a television interview. In certain circles, a kind of grumbling began. It was even said openly that, as a matter of fact, why should you need a greater area of jurisdiction?

[Goncz] I do not need a greater area of jurisdiction. That is defined precisely by the Constitution. On the other hand, what I am entitled to by the Constitution, I insist on. I demand it and insist on it. [I do not require] anything more. [passage omitted]

My area of jurisdiction as specified by the Constitution effectively extends to two spheres. One follows from the fact that I am the representative of the Hungarian state, the Hungarian nation, the country, and thus I demand that I should participate in the shaping of Hungary's foreign policy—and that it should make a mark in a symbolic way, too. The other sphere is that I am the commander in chief of the Army—thus the shaping up of the new national-spirited Hungarian Army cannot be done without me. [passage omitted]

National Bank Releases Trade, Currency Figures

LD2802193891 Budapest MTI in English 0957 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 28, 1991 (MTI-Econews)—National Bank of Hungary figures show that the country's convertible current account showed a surplus of 130 million USD [U.S. dollars] last year, as compared to a deficit of 1.4 billion USD in 1989, the latest report of the Central Statistical Office reveals.

In 1990, the surplus of trade, tourism, services and current bank transfers taken together was larger than the net interest servicing burden (1.4 billion USD) of the country's foreign debts. The 2.5 billion USD amortization on medium- and long-term loans was paid from fresh foreign loans.

The gross convertible debt of the country was about 21 billion USD at the end of the year. The stock of short-term loans was smaller and that of medium- and long-term loans larger at the end of 1990, than a year earlier. The net convertible debt of the country stood at 16 billion USD. The volume of rouble exports was 26 per cent less and of imports 18 per cent less than in 1989. Exports of machinery and equipment declined sharply, by 31 per cent, and energy imports decreased by 12 per cent. The volume of non-rouble exports was 9.5 per cent up on 1989, but failed to fully offset the heavy drop in rouble exports. Thus the quantity of overall exports was 4 per cent down on the previous year.

Over the previous two years, non-rouble exports had grown by a total of 18 per cent. Most of the increase in non-rouble exports last year was the result of increased sales of manufactured products, including machinery and equipment, and of materials. Non-rouble imports grew by less than 3 per cent last year. Within total imports, the proportion of liberalized articles grew from 40 per cent in 1989, to two-thirds of the imports last year.

Most of the increase in non-rouble imports was due to larger purchases of energy, in particular of crude oil. Some 64 per cent of the non-rouble energy imports were in November and December. Convertible imports of machinery increased by 6 per cent, of consumer durables

by 16 per cent and of foodstuffs by 12 per cent last year. Imports of materials, semi-finished products and components decreased by 10 per cent. Overall imports were 5 per cent less last year than a year earlier, within which, imports of materials declined by 13 per cent. As a result of change of markets, the proportion of non-rouble trade in the total trade grew from 57 per cent in 1988, to 62 per cent in 1989 and to 78 per cent in 1990. Rouble trade declined accordingly.

The country's convertible trade balance improved significantly in 1990. In fact, the 945 million USD surplus is 1.8 times bigger than a year earlier. Unlike in previous years, most of the surplus derived from trade with the advanced industrialised countries. Last year, the country's rouble balance broke even, as against a Hungarian surplus of 544 million roubles in 1989.

1990 Wages, Consumption Statistics Provided

LD2802205491 Budapest MTI in English 1205 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 28, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The rapid rise in nominal wages was outstripped by an even faster rise in consumer prices.

Per capita incomes declined in real terms. Incomes from business activity grew and incomes from traditional employment decreased.

Average monthly gross earnings were 13,205 forints in 1990, the net value of which was 9,960 forints. In gross terms, the increase was 24.9 per cent and in net terms, 21.1 per cent over the previous year.

45 per cent of the working population had gross monthly earnings of between 8,000 and 12,000 forints, 20 per cent earned between 14,000 and 20,000 forints and 13 per cent more than 20,000 monthly.

The gross earnings of 7 per cent of full-time workers was less than 6,000 forints a month. The minimum wage, established on December 1, is 5,800 forints per month.

Annual consumer price inflation was 29 per cent, which means that consumer prices last year were double what they were five years ago. Last December, the average price level was 33 per cent higher than in the same month in 1989.

On average, food prices were 35 per cent higher than in the previous year, but prices were 37 per cent higher last December than in December 1989.

The steep price rises suppressed consumer demand.

Retail sales decreased by 6 per cent in quantity. Retail sales organizations employing more than 50 people saw turnover decline by as much as 15 per cent last year.

Individuals, savings deposits, both in forints and in hard currency, grew in 1990.

To partially offset price rises, social benefit payments grew by by 29-30 per cent last year. The biggest single item was the 202 billion forints paid in old-age pensions last year.

Industrial Statistics Also Given

LD2802205891 Budapest MTI in English 1141 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 28, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—After having stagnated in 1988 and 1989, the GDP decreased in 1990. The principal reasons were economic and structural but the drought also had a negative effect.

The drop in overall economic performance had an impact on inputs as well. For example, the volume of imported materials, semi finished products and components was 13 per cent down on 1989. Energy consumption, computed in calorific value, decreased by an average 6.2 per cent over the whole of the economy. Employment in economic organizations staffed by fewer than 50, declined by 10 per cent.

There was a pronounced decline in industrial production in 1990.

At comparative prices, output decreased by 4-5 per cent last year, compared to the previous year. Most of the drop occurred in companies employing more than 50 people, where performance was 8.5 per cent lower than a year earlier. These large companies account for 94-95 per cent of Hungary's total industrial production. .

The drop in production was greatest—15.4 per cent—in basic material industries, which account for 13 per cent of all industrial production. The energy sector saw outputs decrease by 3.9 per cent.

Rouble exports of industrial products decreased by 27 percent.

Convertible exports of industrial products grew by 13 per cent, with higher growth (15 per cent) occurring in the first, than in the second (10-12 per cent), half of the year.

The wholesale and retail trade took up one fifth of industrial sales, and industrial exports were 10 per cent less than a year earlier.

The domestic price level of industrial sales was 24 per cent higher last year than in 1990. Within that figure, the price level of December exceeded by 38 per cent the level of December 1989, because the prices of most forms of energy had grown by 1.5-2 times.

Spokesman on Ways To Encourage Foreign Investment

LD0103223991 Budapest MTI in English 1355 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—The government has set up a fund to encourage foreign investment in Hungary. The fund will consist of assistance from the state treasury, revenues from privatization, interest revenues from the fund itself, and capital incomes acquired through its short-ter[illegible]vestments. Limited companies and public limited companies running with foreign capital of at least 30 per cent, will be able to receive sums of money from the fund, through a tender, for major infrastructural investments.

The government also decided to raise the country's IMF contribution by 40 per cent, from the current 530.7 million sdr to 754.8 million sdr. The raising of the quota implies a prime opportunity for the country to receive greater amounts in loan-form from the IMF than previously.

Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo also said tourism turnover between Hungary and the other former socialist countries has shown a considerable decline due to the switch to accounting in dollars. To date, an agreement has been reached only with the Czechoslovak Government, under which tourists will be able to exchange forints and Czech korunas for their travels.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has asked President Zhelev of Bulgaria, in a personal message, to exempt Hungarian citizens from the compulsory exchange of a daily 15 dollars for travels to Bulgaria.

Minister of Transport, Telecommunications and Water Economy Csaba Siklos informed the government about the state of the railways. He said they would like to re-allocate the greater part of freight and passenger transport to the railways, for practical reasons and in the interest of protecting Hungary's transit route role. Development will be necessary. Talks are in progress with the Gans-hunslet Hungarian-British firm on replacing the carriage stock, and the Hungarian state railways MAV counts on a German Government loan to modernise the Budapest-Vienna line, a loan from the French Government to renew the Budapest-Kelebia line, and an Italian Government loan to establish the Gyekenyes (Yugoslavia) - Szolnok (Hungary) - Csap (Soviet Union) line.

The liability insurance of motor vehicles will probably be built into petrol prices some time between April 15 and July 1. Afterwards, car-owners will have to sign contracts with the insurers. No decision has been made as yet on the degree of the per litre petrol price rises associated with the step. The federation of insurers considers a rise of 9.40 forints to be suitable, but the union bodies regard this as excessive.

Foreign Ministry Official on Soviet Relations

AU0103210091 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Feb 91 p 3

[Interview with Istvan Kormendi, head of the European Department of the Foreign Ministry, by Hanna Szalay; place and date not given: "The New Hungarian-Soviet Agreement Should Not Hinder Our Integration in Europe—What Comes After The Warsaw Pact?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Following the disbanding of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact and the substantial diminishing of the alliance itself, the Hungarian Government is striving for a new security partnership and orderly relations with the Soviet Union. We asked Istvan Kormendi about the details of the new Hungarian-Soviet bilateral agreement currently under preparation.

[Kormendi] The basic agreement currently in preparation is a framework agreement that will cover political, economic, and cultural relations, as well as the national minorities and foreign policy contacts and consultations—an agreement similar to those signed by the Soviet Union with the Germans and the Italians. We are also considering our security relations. This cannot be an alliance because there is no one against whom we should ally forces, nor can these relations be based on antagonism because no rational Hungarian or Soviet policy would accept this. We have found the solution somewhere between the two, and we call it security partnership. We are talking here about relations between two separate, independent, and sovereign states with normal neighborly relations.

[Szalay] When speaking about this agreement in preparation, Hungarian politicians often stress that the aforementioned agreement would provide adequate security guarantees for the Soviet Union. Will this also apply to us?

[Kormendi] One of the first articles of the agreement stipulates that neither one of the signatories will use force against each other and will not threaten with force. Neither side will allow the use of its territory for an aggression against the other. If one of the sides is attacked by an aggressor, the other side will refrain from helping the aggressor. If we notice any massive deployment of troops anywhere along our borders, a deployment that can be interpreted as a threat to Hungary, we will report this to the Soviet Union.

[Szalay] Will the Helsinki principles of advanced warning also apply in this case?

[Kormendi] Yes, but we have not yet discussed the details. We would like to introduce the system of Helsinki verifications. We would carry out such verification on Soviet territory, and the Soviets would also come here for the same purpose, just like they are doing in Western countries.

[Szalay] What about the category of "friendship assistance?"

[Kormendi] This is something of the past. The new agreement will replace the old one, and the old one will no longer be valid.

[Szalay] Are the other Warsaw Pact countries also preparing to sign such agreements?

[Kormendi] Yes, but ours will be the first, because the Hungarian foreign policy was the first to realize that we should not only deal with the Warsaw Pact, but also with the developments after the Warsaw Pact—namely, the need to have orderly relations with the Soviet Union. Poland and the CSFR have also begun to hold negotiations on this. From a security viewpoint, we will interpret and formulate this agreement in a way not to hinder Hungary's gradual integration in the existing Western security systems. Hungary will not take upon itself to refrain from joining any other organization. NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) are also changing, and political union—including security policy cooperation—is also taking shape within the EEC. It is still too early to say whether the WEU will be the NATO pillar in Europe or a security framework for the EEC. The Hungarian-Soviet agreement should not hinder us in negotiating and consulting with these organizations, and in joining them. Otherwise, we must not sign this agreement.

[Szalay] Please comment on the statement by an unidentified U.S. official who advised Hungary and the other Central Eastern European countries not to join NATO and advised them to take up neutrality instead.

[Kormendi] This is one Western opinion among many views. We have also noticed a similar trend in the EEC. They tell us to try to organize our lives in our own region, here in Eastern Europe; however, neutrality is not a serious option because it no longer makes sense: Between whom should we be neutral? An approach toward NATO is unavoidable. I discussed this with my colleague in the CSFR, and I see what the Poles are doing in this area. Thus, we are heading toward Europe in a security policy sense too. There is no other place to go. Naturally, we do not want another iron curtain on our eastern border, and we do not want tension between the West and the Soviet Union because of us.

[Szalay] Have the Soviets not asked us something in exchange for accepting the disbanding of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact and making it possible for us to approach the West?

[Kormendi] They will receive a bilateral agreement.

[Szalay] I thought of the Baltic states. Is there not some kind of hidden demand?

[Kormendi] There is no such thing. The statement issued at the tripartite (Hungarian-Polish-CSFR) foreign ministerial meeting also had a rather tough position in this matter. The Hungarian representative in the Council of Europe has been instructed to take an active part in working out a resolution on the Baltic states. The Hungarian prime minister took a position in this issue, and Foreign Minister [Geza] Jeszenszky summoned Soviet Ambassador Aboimov. Thus, one cannot accuse the Hungarian position of any indecision in this issue.

Border Zone Traffic With USSR Resumes

LD0103220491 Budapest MTI in English 1301 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Passenger traffic was re-opened on [words indistinct] Hungarian Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg county and the Sub-Carpathian areas of the Soviet Union. Hungarian and Soviet citizens possessing "border zone passes" can reach their destinations through the border stations in Barabas-Mezokaszony, and Tiszabecs-Tiszaujlak.

Border zone traffic, which began on March 1, 1989, was suspended by the Soviets last August. Border crossing of a more lax kind (i.e. no passports needed) is now permitted, though it is restricted to residents from the two neighbouring areas, including those from 62 of the Sub-Carpathian villages. This number is less than before. Another restriction is that the Soviet territorial visa and passport department issues passes only to those who are travelling for major, pressing family events, or to relatives.

Joint Intelligence Agreement Signed With Poland

LD2802222591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Gabor Nemes report]

[Text] Our relations in the intelligence service is the best with Hungary said Milczanowski, head of the Polish State Protection Office, after saying goodbye to Andras Galszecsy. During his three-day visit to Warsaw, the chief of the Hungarian secret service focused his talks on the joint fight against terrorism and drug mafia, and he also signed a cooperation agreement with his Polish colleague. Neither the Hungarian nor the Polish journalists were given any details. The nature of this work is such that we cannot disclose anything about it, Milczanowski said.

The close cooperation of the two countries is well illustrated by the fact that a Polish delegation of similar level visited Hungary barely six months ago.

Defense Minister Fur Leaves for Visit to UK

LD0403134491 Budapest MTI in English 1207 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—A Hungarian delegation headed by Lajos Fur, minister of defence, left on an official visit to Britain on Monday, at the invitation of Tom King, secretary of state for defence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. As part of developing bilateral relations, the working visit will be aimed at fostering co-operation between the Hungarian and the British armies, and establishing direct links between their highest-ranking leaders.

Prime Minister Discusses FRG Treaty, NATO

LD0303141991 Berlin ADN in German 1340 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Bonn/Warsaw (ADN)—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki would like to see the friendship treaty with Germany signed "as soon as possible." Bielecki, who is expected for a two-day official visit to Bonn on Tuesday, said in an interview with the Bonn-published 'DIE WELT' (Monday edition): "In my view the country that is delaying the matter is not Poland." The treaty was agreed between the two countries in connection with the two-plus-four negotiations on the external aspects of German unity. The head of government promised that the German minority in Poland will in future "be able to do everything that derives from international law."

Poland's way to Europe, the prime minister emphasized, proceeds via Germany, and he is trying "to give this option a realistic shape favorable for both sides." Bielecki said he expects that Poland will become a full member of the European Communist before the end of this decade. At the same time he affirmed in the 'WELT' interview Poland's interest in cooperating with the NATO.

His government represents a "strong pro-European political option," the prime minister said. A natural consequence of the Warsaw Pact's abolition is the concept of "military neutrality." This requires that Poland change its defense doctrine and also carry out a comprehensive reform of the army. He refused to rule out for the future "the beginning of cooperation with NATO, for example in the form of political consultations." The visit of President Walesa to NATO in Brussels, announced for April, is assessed by Bielecki as an expression of this Polish interest.

Concerning the Polish domestic situation, the prime minister said that an economic upturn is likely "around the second half of this year." However, to give his country "a breather," a decision on the reduction of the extremely high foreign debts will have to be made soon. This is also the precondition for foreign investments in Poland. At the same time Bielecki called for a "policy of limiting wage increases." It is impossible to grant firms total freedom regarding their wages policy, he said.

Government Spokesman on Debts, FRG Relations

AU0403105991 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Cracow, Feb. 28—"A decision on a Polish debt reduction may be expected in April—I have grounds to assume that during President Lech Walesa's visit in Washington, scheduled for the end of March, he will be informed of the scale of the reduction," Government Press Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski told a conference here inaugurating a series of his meetings with local press newsmen.

He also said that Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's visit to Germany, scheduled for March 5 and 6, would focus on bilateral economic relations, the reduction of Polish debts owed to Germany and the lifting of visa requirements for Poles.

Zarebski confirmed Poland's stand that the transit of Soviet troops from Germany via Poland and the Soviet troops withdrawal from Poland were interrelated and had an impact on European security.

He told newsmen that until May (when the resignation of the government in connection with the parliamentary elections may be expected) neither currency rates nor prices of electric power and gas would change.

Walesa Urges More Contacts With CSFR, Germany

LD0203044191 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—President Lech Walesa today received representatives of German and Czechoslovak Christian-Democracies who came to take part in a congress of the Centre Alliance. They include representatives of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], deputies to the Bundestag, deputies to the Czechoslovak parliament on behalf of the Democratic Forum and the general secretary of the European Christian Union.

The interlocutors discussed relations between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany and that countries' stands on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The debaters stressed that it was in the common interests of the three states to prevent the differentiation of approach to the withdrawal of Soviet troops in regard to individual states.

Lech Walesa told representatives of Christian-Democratic parties about the course of the process of building full democracy in Poland and stressed ideological community of values represented by Christian Democracy. The president opined that for the sake of pluralism, one should expand contacts of German and Czechoslovak Christian Democracies with Polish political parties.

Police, Street Vendors Clash in Warsaw

LD0203230191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Roman Czajarek report]

[Text] When a few minutes after 1900 hours the operation of removing the illegal traders from Marszalkowska Street began, no one, I believe, could have foreseen such a dramatic turn of events. Almost 400 vendors decided to defend their huts, stalls, and camp-beds to the end. When the first half hour of gently trying to load one of the huts onto a van did not get any positive results, powerful units of police joined the action. Some of the traders created a human shield; the remainder sat on their stalls.

At about 2000 several dozen policemen equipped with batons charged the protesters. After almost an hour of fighting and scuffling, the huts in the neighborhood of the

Post Office Rotunda were competely demolished; however, no one managed to load even one of them onto a van.

More dramatic events took place near Swietokrzyska Street. An enraged crowd attacked the mayor of the Central Warsaw District. Some of those involved were injured. Several times ambulances came to take away the injured.

When an unconfirmed rumor was spread that there had been a fatality several traders tried to lynch the driver of the specially provided crane-truck.

The press spokesman of the street vendors stated 10 minutes or so ago that the mayor of Central Warsaw would be held responsible for all damage. The police have temporarily closed that part of Marszalkowska Street that runs outside the Centrum stores. Attempts to remove the huts and stalls of illegal vendors are continuing.

Warning Strike Held at Warsaw Airport

LD2802235891 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—The air traffic control workers of the Warsaw's Okecie airport staged this afternoon a two-hour warning strike to demand higher wages, shorter working hours and earlier pensions. The postulates put forward by the trade union of air traffic controllers are studied by the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy.

The minister of transport and maritime economy today recalled Marek Kaczorowski from the post of the general director of the "airports" enterprise and nominated to that post Tadeusz Janczyk, in the past a technical deputy director of the "Airports" enterprise, recently employed by Pan American Airlines.

Following the inauguration of talks between solidarity unionists and representatives of the Industry Ministry today the strike in the "Ursus" tractor factory here has been suspended.

The sides reached agreement as to the necessity of introducing organizational and structural changes in the "Ursus" plant. The negotiations are to be continued.

In connection with the announcement of Solidarity's mining branch committee that talks will be held with the government at the end of April to comprehensively settle the problems of the brown coal miners the strike committee of the brown coal mine in Konin called off a general strike planned for today.

The strike committee of the State-Owned Farms (PGR) employees will continue its talks with the government side, it was decided today after another round of talks in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy here. The committee acquainted itself with a written stand of the government side concerning the realization of the PGR farmers' postulates and is to present a reply. The most controversial postulate still remains the one demanding a 12 percent credits for agriculture.

The main council of the PKP Railway Drivers Union debating in Zakopane today resolved to put off a possible general strike till March 20. The decision was dictated by the country's difficult economic situation.

'Angry' Farmers Accept Negotiation Proposal

LD2802230391 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—Angry farmers who protested today in front of the Agriculture Ministry here accepted a proposal to negotiate their postulates with Farming Minister Adam Tanski.

State farms workers from all over Poland came to Warsaw this morning to demand better and equal treatment of all sectors of agriculture. They ended their demonstration after talks with Tanski who invited a delegation of the protesters to negotiations inside the building.

A wave of strikes at the state-owned farms (PGR) began in different regions of the country early this month.

Transport, Farm, Education Workers Debate Strike

LD2802185191 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—With conflicts over pays and the excess wage tax escalating all over Poland recently, some branches of the PKS [State Motor Transport] busing enterprise continued sit-ins at depots and bus stations in the Poznan Province and also in the towns of Leszno, Gniezno, Kalisz, Slupsk and Legnica for the tenth day on Wednesday. Also, strikers continued to occupy the management's offices in the Ursus factory, Warsaw, despite today's talks with Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Boni. The latter proposed that next talks on pay rises' demands should be held at the industry ministry tomorrow. The Solidarity of the Mazowsze region offered its mediatory services with a view to solving the conflict. Today's talks between representatives of the National Strike Committee of State Farms and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Sector produced no agreement as the committee regarded as unsatisfactory official explanations concerning cheap credits for agriculture, minimum prices for farming products and equal rights for all farming sectors. Meanwhile, the National Protest Committee of the Polish Teachers' Union decided to stop its protest action tomorrow as the Parliament allocated more funds for education in the 1991 budget and the ministers of labour and social policy and of national education approved pay rises for the educational sector. For tomorrow, the union of air traffic controllers announced a protest action as well as a two-hour warning strike in the afternoon in case the Transport Ministry did not start negotiations on their postulates, including better pays and modern radiocommunications equipment for airports.

Solidarity Congress Leaves Questions Unanswered

AU0103172591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Feb 91 p 2

['A.F.T.' report: "What Kind Of 'Solidarity'?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The election of Marian Krzaklewski as "Solidarity" chairman does not answer any of the questions that were asked before the union congress. He himself claims to support the idea of a professional trade union. More than anything else, he wants to implement the union statute and program. "Solidarity" will no longer enjoy the benefit of its previous chairman's charisma. Krzaklewski will have to work hard to earn prestige. For the West, he is an unknown activist with an unpronounceable name. Until now, heading the union's industrial sector bureau and coordinating talks between industrial sectors has been viewed with mixed feelings inside "Solidarity."

The next meeting of the National Commission will provide a partial answer to what really happened at the congress and what its effects on the union's future might be. It might answer the following questions: Who will leave the Commission? Who will be the vice chairmen? Will the new "Solidarity" leader risk appointing Bogdan Borusewicz, the only man considered to be a "professional activist?" Lech Kaczynski will certainly quit the committee; at least that is what he says.

The delegates at the congress adopted 11 resolutions. Several of them describe what the union will do next. They lay down the topics of future talks with the government, and add new postulates to the previous ones. The union expects government proposals on protecting those with the lowest earnings, a report on the state of work on new systems of taxation, information on how the proposed social contract would be monitored, and suggestions on how to protect the interests of trade unionists during the privatization process. Three of the resolutions concern the work of Parliament; one of them objects to the draft election rules that rule out the participation of social and professional organizations in the election. Another one calls for the adoption of election rules and the holding of the election as quickly as possible. The congress decided that the union would nominate its own candidates for the election.

After numerous arguments, it was decided that the statute adopted at the previous congress would remain in force. It was also agreed that the use of the national flag during strikes and protest actions is unjustified and causes anger. In such cases trade union symbols should be used; for "Solidarity" the symbol is a white flag with the familiar "Solidarity" logo.

The maximum term of office of authorities at various levels was agreed upon.

In a separate document, the congress calls on the government to undertake immediate action to protect the standard of living of pensioners. Michal Boni's suggestion of drafting rules governing the holding of talks and ways of resolving social problems and economic issues, however, failed to materialize in the form of a programmatic resolution.

Walesa, Parliamentarians Discuss Elections Date

LD0103235691 Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Polish President Lech Walesa received today a delegation of both houses of Parliament with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and deputy Sejm and Senate speakers to discuss preparations for new parliamentary elections.

The delegation voiced its fears concerning the possibility of holding elections in spring in connection with the proposed draft electoral laws. The president expressed his opinion that May 26 should be the election day in tune with political consultations and commitments made during the presidential election campaign.

The meeting however seemed not to bring a definite answer to the question about the date of elections.

Deputy Sejm Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska told reporters the Sejm is expected to hear the first reading of the presidential draft electoral law during its near [as received] meeting.

She said that the first and second reading of the draft may take place on March 7 or, after the first reading, the draft will be given back to the committee with instructions to complete work as soon as possible. At the following meeting, the chamber will probably announce which draft has been accepted.

Later Elections Possible

LD0203043791 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Secretary of the president's consultative committee Wojciech Wlodarczyk today conveyed the committee's statement to Lech Walesa on the expected results of postponing parliamentary elections to a later date than the coming spring.

Presidential advisers point to the threat of the deepening of economic crisis as a result of the absence of domestic stability and growing distrust of foreign partners.

In the situation when there surface demands in the USSR recently that Moscow regain the possibility to directly influence neighbouring states, it is very risky to continue with the Sejm where representatives of political forces until quite recently at the USSR's service are in the majority. [sentence as received]

Attempts to prevent the holding of parliamentary elections in spring hit out at the prestige of the president who announced a possibly early date during the electoral campaign.

Presidential advisers point out that, apart from Albania, Poland is the last state of the former communist camp where free elections are yet to be held.

"This delay blocks our access to West European economic and political institutions," presidential advisers write.

Citizens' Committee for Free Elections Established

LD2802232591 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—The Citizens' Committee for Free Elections was set up today at the initiative of the Centre Agreement, the political party which emerged after the split in Solidarity and which supports President Lech Walesa and the cabinet of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

The Committee wants early parliamentary elections in May. "The events of recent weeks indicate a growing offensive of the forces of the old regime. Maintaining a Sejm (lower house) dominated by them strikes at the interest of the country. All attempts to postpone the date of the elections are harmful to the state and a political ploy," reads a statement presented to PAP by the Centre Agreement.

The Committee is setting up local branches and starting a poster campaign under the slogan "Elections Now." It also supports the president draft electoral law which differs from that drawn up by the Sejm.

Center Alliance Session Held; Leader Reelected

LD0403001991 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—On the second day of its debates here today, the Centre Alliance congress re-elected Jaroslaw Kaczynski leader of the party. In the voting Kaczynski beat 368-40 his opponent Janusz Andruszkiewicz, a physician from Gdansk.

Kaczynski, who is also the head of the Presidential Chancellery, stated that if he had to choose between the posts, the party comes first. But it should be taken into account that my presence in the Belvedere Palace (the president's Warsaw seat) has helped the party and may still help, he added.

Although reluctantly, the congress adopted a statement on the controversial anti-abortion bill saying: "Delegates are of the opinion that human life, including the unborn, should be protected. The problem is so important for Polish society that the discussion on it should not be an element in the electoral campaign."

On the other hand, the delegates strongly supported the idea to work out a de-communization law (similar to that on the de-nazification of Germany after World War II) which would forbid former Communist Party officials to fill posts in public service for ten years to come and allow for depriving them of property acquired by illegal means.

The congress also elected a 100-strong main political council, national audit comission and a chief disciplinary court.

The debates lasted late into the night.

Walesa Voices Support for Radio, TV Chairman

LD0203043391 Warsaw PAP in English 1853 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—President Lech Walesa voiced his support today for performance by new head of the Committee for Radio and TV Marian Terlecki and said there would be no return to the situation when mass media were controlled by political rulers.

"Democratization in Poland requires many structural changes. Such should be the direction of transformations offering full independence concerning both programme and finances in Polish radio and television," Walesa said.

In the wake of the meeting, Terlecki told reporters the changes in the committee would serve to make the two TV channels self-supporting, and added other radio and TV cells would also become independent.

There are plans to prepare fully objective information programmes on elections, to be made in co-operation with American experts.

Senate Rejects Inspection Board Candidate

LD0103230191 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—The Senate rejected today the candidature of Wieslawa Ziolkowska for the post of chairman of the supreme board of inspection (NIK) with 68 votes against, five votes for and eight abstentions.

A suggestion that Tadeusz Hupalowski should be acting chairman until the appointment of a new NIK head was rejected as well with 59 votes against, one vote for and four abstentions.

Earlier, Hupalowski had submitted his resignation to the Sejm speaker. According to the regulations, the Sejm speaker can appoint one of Hupalowski's deputies acting chairman of NIK, Hupalowski said in his letter.

Still before the voting, Senator Lech Koziol said the Sejm speaker would accept Hupalowski's resignation when Senate's stand on the candidature of Ziolkowska was clear.

Ziolkowska told a press conference after the vote that her candidature was rejected by the senate for political reasons.

Foreign Trade Minister's Forecasts for 1991

AU0103171791 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Feb 91 p 3

["abo"-signed report: "Step by Step Into the World Market"]

[Text] Six months into this year we will be ready to sign two agreements: an agreement with the EEC on associate membership and with EFTA (whose membership comprises six European countries that do not belong to the EEC) on the establishment of a free trade zone—that is what Dariusz

Ledworowski, minister of foreign economic cooperation, said at a news conference on Monday. Talks with the EEC are at a very advanced stage.

Ledworowski also said:

—on the subject of trade with the USSR—there will be a significant fall in trade. Agreements with the Ukraine and Belorussia have already been drawn up, and an agreement with Russia is being prepared;

—on debts with the USSR—Prime Minister Pavlov is still to reply to a letter that he received from Prime Minister Bielecki some weeks ago on the subject of commencing talks on mutual liabilities as quickly as possible. Our debt with the USSR amounts to 45.7 billion rubles and 1.5 billion dollars. Moscow's liabilities to us amount to 7 billion rubles;

—on Poland's continued involvement in the construction of the Yamburg pipeline—this year we will not take part in any new work, but we will spend about 30 million rubles on continuing with work that has already been commenced. However, as every ruble we spend on this investment project costs us several thousand zlotys, we have set aside as much as 700 billion zlotys of total budget expenditure for this purpose. Nevertheless, the Yamburg project is worthwhile for us, because the USSR will provide us with some gas for nothing;

—concerning the war with Iraq—We expect our trade with Saudi Arabia and, perhaps, Syria to increase. After the war, Poland will be able to revive trade with both Kuwait and Iraq.

—on exchange rates—the maintenance of a fixed rate for the dollar, despite inflation, causes export profits to fall. Nevertheless, raising the exchange rate would by no means mean that export profits would grow;

—on the further liberalization of trade—the list of commodities that can only be taken out of the country once a permit has been obtained will be shorter; foodstuffs will be among the commodities that disappear from it;

—on the recalling of the head of the Main Customs Office—This was not linked to any affair. Chairman Bartoszewicz could offer no guarantees that he would concentrate on the most important tasks: improving the customs administration and bringing it into line with EEC norms;

—a new tariff schedule and a new program for trade counselor activities should be ready by the end of March.

PRC's Qian Qichen Continues Visit

Meets With Skubiszewski

LD2802235191 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 28—"Both (Poland and China) are oriented towards very close cooperation and good relations," Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said today after the first round of talks with his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen, now on an official visit to Poland.

"The recognition of Taiwan as an independent state is out of the question on the Polish side. We are of the opinion that there is one Chinese state but I unequivocally pointed to the interest of Polish enterprises in trade relations with that island, which met with full understanding on the part of the Chinese minister," Skubiszewski continued.

At the talks the sides also mentioned a possibility of setting up a Polish trade mission in Hong Kong.

Minister Qian Qichen also called on the Polish Parliament where he met with Senate speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski to discuss a recent fall in Polish-Chinese turnover and to invite him to pay an official visit to China and with Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz to touch upon parliamentary cooperation.

In the evening, Minister Skubiszewski entertained his Chinese guest to dinner.

Received by Walesa

LD0103223191 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—President Lech Walesa received here today Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen, on a visit to Poland.

The president received with satisfaction the invitation for an official visit to China conveyed to him by the minister from Chinese leader Yang Shangkun.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski participated in the meeting.

Poll Measures Attitudes on U.S., USSR

LD0303225391 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—In a public opinion poll on Soviet- U.S. relations, carried out by the CBOS public opinion polling centre in Poland in February, 49 per cent of respondents said that both superpowers made equal effort to maintain and strengthen peace in the world. 43 per cent pointed to the U.S. as the one which had greater contribution in that field.

Over half of those asked (53 per cent) expressed the opinion that both states are equally ready to use force to achieve their goals. One-third of the respondents said that the Soviet Union pursues a more aggressive policy. Forty seven per cent of the respondents said the U.S. has military supremacy over the USSR, 37 per cent said there is a military equilibrium between the two. Only 8 per cent said that the Soviet Union has a military advantage over the U.S. Fourty two per cent of those polled said that a military equilibirum between the two superpowers would be the most favourable situation as far as Poland's security is concerned.

Roman Examines Reform, Stabilization, Renovation

AU0103173291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1425 GMT 1 Mar 91

["Part four" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to the Romanian Parliament on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/3/1991—**Reform, Adjustment, Stabilization**

The programme we advance to you, which was also negotiated with the International Monetary Fund, could be called in short a programme for reform, adjustment and stabilization of the Romanian economy on the basis of social support and political commitment.

The reform cannot advance without economic adjustment and restructuring and the two elements are doomed to failure in the absence of macro-economic stabilization. Furthermore, the three elements, which are closely related to one another, have no chance of success without an adequate social support and a firm political commitment.

The minimum level of the foreign debt, the accumulation of fixed assets which, even if physically and morally worn out, still make a good starting point, the existence of a valuable human potential any nation could envy us for, the advantageous geographic location and existing natural resources (such as the agricultural potential, crude, coal and natural gas) are the relative advantages we and foreign investors benefit from, they are the support of our hopes in the successful continuation of the reform programme.

The key issue because any government action on the economic plane implies a key position is that of employing the highly trained human potential that should be protected and granted conditions for capitalization.

The Government's Economic and Financial Programme for 1991

The following are the main aims of the government's economic and financial programme for 1991: to halt a decline in the real GNP in 1991, to keep inflation under control, to build a gross hard currency reserve of about 0.7 billion U.S. dollars to one billion (ca. seven weeks' worth of imports) by the end of 1991. To attain them, the government will pursue flexible interest rate policy and adequate income and exchange rate policies.

Macroeconomics policies will be supported by structural measures apt to give flexibility and efficiency to the economy. The structural reforms comprise: a general liberalization of foreign trade. The expansion and generalization of price liberalization, privatisation and restructuring of the state enterprises, the financial sector reform.

Technological Renovation Should Start This Year

It is a natural outcome of last year's outline strategy for transition to a market economy.

As a fundamental measure we have initiated, a group shall be set up at a national level for technological renovation under the name of GENERT headed by the president of the Romanian Academy.

It is our aim to bring into this group the enlightened minds of the country for the attainment of a strategic goal of national importance.

This group will consult with and elicit the contribution of all creative forces in the country across the political spectrum in order to give objectivity, continuity, credibility and stability to the strategic programme.

Two are the strategic dimensions of GENERT:

1. The resources programme with its chapters: electricity and heat; petroleum, gas, chemistry and petrochemistry; transport; mining; metallurgy; telecommunications and information technology; research and development.

2. The basic lines programme: energy conservation; protection and conservation of the environment, education.

We are expecting a first variant by the end of this year so that a substantive approach could be made in 1992. Two stages are planned in its development, namely 1992-1995 and 1996-2005.

The economic programme for 1991 sets the initiation of the stabilization of the economy albeit at a moderate rate because of the shape the domestic economic structures are in and of a slower growth of the world economy forecasts by experts for next year.

The total available resources formed by the GNP, in active trade balance and the attracted foreign capital; along with a small part of the population's previous-year revenues are planned to be used 75 per cent for consumption and 25 per cent for gross capital formation, which brings the population's consumption more than 10 percent up on 1989.

Roman Addresses FSN 'Theoretical Meeting'

AU0103210291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2001 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/3/1991—Bucharest hosted the proceedings of the theoretical meeting "A Future for Romania" organized by the commission to prepare the national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

At the beginning of the debates the floor was taken by the leader of the National Salvation Front, Mr. Petre Roman, who emphasized inter alia that the meeting aimed at clarifying aspects from the programme-platform which the National Salvation Front would present the national convention on March 16 and 17, 1991. This should "mean a well defined structure in the perspective of forthcoming double local and parliamentary elections." Today's meeting, the prime minister also said, should prove that we have the

capability to hold open, substantiated debates and that we can present ourselves in front of the nation with a credible, long-term programme.

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After ample debates on the identity of the National Salvation Front and on the perspectives of social democracy in Romania, the economic crisis and the problems of the transition to the market economy, the changes taking place in this period, the Front's relations with trade unions, with intellectuals and youth, Romania's relations with western and Eastern Europe, with Soviet Moldova, that formations' leader, Petre Roman, presented the paper "A Party for Romania's Reconstruction."

Stanculescu Interviewed on Revolution, Monarchy

AU0303182191 Bucharest DEMOCRATIA in Romanian No. 4/Feb 91, pp 3, 6

[Interview with National Defense Minister Victor Atanasie Stanculescu by Eugen Florescu and Carmen Florian; place and date not given: "The Army Does Not Want the King. Monarchy Is No Solution!"]

[Text] [Florescu] Esteemed Mr. Minister, to begin with, we would like to thank you for your kindness in granting this interview to DEMOCRATIA magazine. Allow us to recall that, among the personalities brought forward by the December 1989 revolution, you enjoy great public attention. In this respect, we would like to ask you a few pertinent and conclusive questions about divergent opinions still existing even about such events as those that led to the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship.

For instance, the recently rekindled Iulian Vlad-Silviu Brucan dialogue or the revolution days in Timisoara. You have already stated your opinions on these issues; still, do you have something to add to them?

[Stanculescu] I believe that right now the law should have its say. Where are those who were allegedly "chosen" to carry out the investigation into the Timisoara file? Is one of them in South Africa and the other one somewhere else? I also agree that it would be good to find out the truth! Unfortunately, the honorable commission in charge of that has not talked to me. Now, Viorel Oancea, the former chief of the Timisoara police, with whom I never exchanged a word, is making all sorts of "statements," after he was relieved of his positions. He is trying to say something that he should have said then, if he knew it, but he was more concerned with being promoted to various positions. This characteristic is not indicative of a man of good faith.

[Florescu] In his most recent testimony, General Iulian Vlad hinted at a real infiltration of foreign forces into Timisoara. How do you interpret his statements?

[Stanculescu] I believe that the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] has the task of confirming or refuting the respective statements. I say this under the assumption that the SRI is in possession of the documents of the State Security Directorate, which was under the command of General Iulian Vlad. At the same time, I believe that all political forces should estimate the advantages and disadvantages deriving for Romania from its relations with other states. It is a world practice that certain disclosures are made only when history permits it....

[Florescu] Mr. Minister, some people are still behind bars. Should we sacrifice them at the "altar of history?" Is this humane?

[Stanculescu] To obtain a clear picture of certain people in need of this, the justice bodies are able to dissociate personal aspects from national interests. I do not advocate the punishment of innocent people, but I believe that the innocence of some individuals should not be proven at the cost of serious damage to Romania, particularly at such a troubled time as today.

[Florescu] Therefore, everything depends once more on higher political reasons and the wisdom of the bodies of justice.

[Stanculescu] Exactly.

[Florescu] There are question marks raised in certain quarters about actions undertaken in those days by Yugoslav citizens (little mentioned until now), who allegedly facilitated the penetration of "tourists" both from Hungary and the Soviet Union. Some even claim that, if the Bucharest action had failed, the Yugoslav consulate in Timisoara would have had the task of bringing forward the people to organize actions in that city.

[Stanculescu] I have no information to this effect, particularly because the Army has never dealt with such problems.

[Florescu] Esteemed Mr. Minister, we have information that General Milea was deeply impressed by the attacks of certain gangs against the young soldiers hastily sent to Timisoara at Ceausescu's order, in the first days of the movement around the Tokes affair. We know that a film was even made with statements taken from those young soldiers, who were unarmed and practically beaten to a pulp. Do you know anything about the fate of that film? In our opinion, it would clarify many problems linked to the various stages of the revolution in Timisoara?

[Stanculescu] In those days, General Milea was very carefully guarding that kind of information, even from us, his adjutants. I can tell you that I knew absolutely nothing about developments in Timisoara in the first days; therefore, there was no way for me to learn anything about that film....

[Florescu] Maybe one can still look for it. After all, it was probably shot by military cameramen. Anyhow, do we know more today about the identity of the 40 Timisoara corpses that were incinerated at the Bucharest mortuary?

[Stanculescu] Nothing other than the fact that they are still corpses that were never claimed....

[Florescu] Mr. Minister, many citizens continue to ask how the Cabinet No. 1 prepared Ceausescu's flight.

[Stanculescu] When I reached the former Central Committee headquarters, everybody was in great panic. People could no longer control themselves. Contradictory orders were being given. The overall picture was that of a total loss of control. People were no longer coherent.

[Florescu] Some claim that, practically from the very moment of his entering the elevator to go up to the terrace where the helicopter was waiting for him, Ceausescu was deprived of all his powers and that his arrest actually began then.

[Stanculescu] His being put in the elevator? Yes, it was equivalent to Antaeus' being lifted from the earth. Indeed, from that moment on, Ceausescu was deprived of all his powers.

[Florescu] Others keep asking why our air surveillance instruments failed to identify the course of the helicopter's flight that led the television to continuously announce that the dictators were being searched for and that no one knew where they were....

[Stanculescu] Their whereabouts were known! Even the testimony of pilot Mariutan confirms that. He was in continuous radio contact with the "base," which ensured perfect surveillance conditions. As for the technical capacity of keeping track of the helicopter, which was flying at a low altitude, it is known that, in principle, the radar can only do this over a distance of several scores of kilometers. Still, everything was known....

[Florescu] Mr. Minister, in a recent interview, Mr. Gelu Voican said that you were among the few officials who witnessed the execution of the Ceausescu and his wife. Is there anything you can add to the known details of the execution? Some citizens ask what their behavior was in those moments and whether Ceausescu said something or not.

[Stanculescu] My picture of those moments is that of two people who never believed, to the last moment, that the execution was going to be carried out. I did not hear Ceausescu say anything other than what was heard by everyone in the film, that is "Do not tie us." As a matter of fact, he did not have time to say anything else. There were about 20 meters between the place where this scene occurred and the place of the execution. A noncommissioned officer opened fire almost immediately, after which all those with firearms started shooting. It was like an explosion.

[Florescu] Even today, some opposition press organs make the accusation that certain scenes were intentionally absent in the film, something that gave cause to much speculation in the West.

[Stanculescu] There was no intention whatsoever of not recording those moments. In practice, the cameraman was surprised by the speed with which fire was opened. Until that moment he had filmed inside and had his camera plugged in for electricity; by the time he switched to batteries, everything was over. As for Western speculation that Ceausescu's body could not fall backwards, I do not know what university courses were attended by the French physician who contradicts what we all saw, but he ignores the fact that that was not a "classical" execution, but an enormous emptying of the gun magazines. The two were practically hit by hundreds of bullets. Only machine guns were used, the two were cut down by a sea of bullets....

[Florescu] A great controversy has recently broken out in connection with General Vlad's arrest. Do you think that his arrest in those revolutionary days was necessary and justified? Many citizens negatively recall Professor Silviu Brucan's boasting that he and Dumitru Mazilu ordered Vlad's arrest. Millions of people saw on television and cassette recordings the images of that so-called "night of the generals" (22-23 December 1989), which leaves an opposite impression to that conveyed by Mr. Brucan's present claims...

[Stanculescu] They had remained at the former Central Committee headquarters and made the decisions. Maybe there is truth to their statements. Brucan knows more than I, and so does Militaru [former defense minister Nicolae Militaru]; however, it is also a fact that they used no arguments or justifications to support these measures. It is up to the courts to decide....

[Florescu] A subject that was almost never tackled until now is that of General Milea's legal succession. As far as we know, the sealed envelope he left behind also mentioned your name for the succession to the position of minister of defense. What happened in those moments and why was the rule not observed? There is also some talk now about an attempt made at that time, a desire to have you removed from the leadership of the Army?

[Stanculescu] Normally, the chief of staff would be the one to take over, that is General Guse. I was also a deputy minister, but with other tasks. I believe that that was a political and subjective decision dictated by the considerations of the moment, which I cannot judge. There were people there who knew each other before. Before we arrived there, we had no connection with Mr. Iliescu or Mr. Brucan.

Because some people talk about a certain power struggle, I would like to say that all this is absolute crap. First, a person thirsty for power preserves that power when he has it, rather than fight to get it when he does not have it. On 22 December, the Army was listening to my orders, both in the former Central Committee headquarters, and around Bucharest. No one else had any power then and there; everyone should realize that. As far as I am concerned, I clearly believe that Romania does not need another upheaval in a situation that we have only just reached.

[Florescu] Why do you think such "rumors" are spread?

[Stanculescu] Some people are predisposed to do this and just presented opinions like that. I have no such

inclinations myself. In principle, I believe that politicians are called upon to provide the solutions for the transition to Romania's reconstruction.

[Florescu] A magazine tried to provoke you into answering the question whether it is true that you had meetings abroad with former King Mihai I in 1990. You said that the time will come for you to elaborate on this matter. Because even the former king subsequently confirmed the existence of such contacts, do you consider that the time is ripe for you to make certain clarifications in this respect?

[Stanculescu] I can state very clearly that, on my return from abroad, I informed the president and the prime minister about these contacts. I deemed it necessary to know what prompted the former king's desire to meet with a member of the government. The discussion limited itself to information about the situation in the country. Former King Mihai made no comment or suggestion.

Anyway, I can tell you that the Army does not want a king and a monarchic regime in Romania.

Personally, I believe that the monarchy is only an element of history and that it cannot be a solution for the near or more distant future.

[Florescu] What is the position of Defense Minister Mr. Victor Atanasie Stanculescu about the dispute in Parliament on whether the Army should be involved in solving certain domestic conflicts?

[Stanculescu] I believe that the Army's duty is to defend the country from outside enemies. Concerning domestic enemies, the task of the powers that be is to organize the Ministry of Interior so well that it can ensure the quietude and safety of all citizens.

[Florescu] Mr. Minister, in connection with the concern you have expressed from the rostrum of the Parliament in connection with the precarious state of our Army's equipment, something that left an impression on millions of people: What can you tell us about the Ceausescu policy that brought us into this situation? In the past, we boasted about cuts in military expenditures, only to find out now that we do not have what we need.

[Stanculescu] I believe that Ceausescu's military policy consisted of two elements: a) first, one that took into consideration domestic and external propaganda; b) second, Ceausescu was not aware of the meaning of the reduced potential of the Army he was commanding in his capacity as supreme commander. The effects of this policy will continue to be felt in the future, because there are generations of military men—at least the contingents of the past 10 years—who were trained... through work. The weakening of the Army's ability to maintain its existing technical equipment and the dissatisfaction of the cadres, who saw the deteriorating quality of life of soldiers, who could not even be ensured normal living standards in the barracks—such as food, equipment, and so forth—have created a strong anti-Ceausescu trend in the Army. Let me give you an example: The measures adopted as recently as 1989 to reduce the weight of the soldiers' clothes per square meter of cloth resulted in garments that one could almost see through.

[Florescu] Do you consider the supplements granted after the discussion of the budget in the Parliament as adequate?

[Stanculescu] Yes. For the time being, they are satisfactory, given the country's present possibilities. Of course, they do not meet the Army's real modernization requirements. I can foresee the Army's modernization in the coming years when, through appropriate means, we will have access to the best technology, which now costs two-three times more than that currently available to the Romanian Army. For instance, just to proceed from one generation of products to another in the military's air force, the price is double!

[Florescu] Do the transition to a new type of society, the emergence from the former "camp," and our liberation pose new problems at the military level?

[Stanculescu] Sure. At first sight, this alternative seems necessary. The problem we face at this time is a circular defense of 360 degrees. By the same token, we also have to think of the other element—a policy of good- neighborly relations with all our neighbors; furthermore, we have to struggle more and more for the application—as soon as possible—of the treaty on European security.

[Florescu] Esteemed Minister, we do not want to hide from you that the public is concerned about the precarious state of our Army's equipment as you presented it, especially in the context of news that the Hungarian Army has taken over or intends to take over a large amount of weapons from the former GDR.

[Stanculescu] Let me tell you a secret: We have also taken similar steps to buy, in particular, tanks and planes from the German Army. Thus it was not a unilateral request by a single country; however, the reply to all of us was that there is nothing for sale.

As far as Hungary is concerned, for the time being there is nothing alarming in the balance of forces for us—neither from the material nor the human standpoint. I believe that following the results of recent Romanian-Hungarian accords one can establish mutual trust. These accords are also functioning at the level of the ministers of defense of the two countries. There are permanent contracts between us that permit us to guarantee calm for the peoples of the two countries.

[Florescu] Yet, Mr. Minister, when people hear—as was the case a few days ago—news about the Hungarian prime minister attacking Romania once again from I do not know what world forums....

[Stanculescu] I believe we have to seek solutions to what has not yet been solved. At the same time, I believe that, regardless of the vestiges of hatred accumulated throughout millennia of being neighbors, European integration and ensuring security for each people on this continent cannot be achieved through separation and

accentuation of the elements that harm relations between Hungary and Romania.

We act in accordance with this idea. The fact that economic and cultural accords were signed after the signing of military accords, and that common standpoints were identified in our foreign policy, has to encourage us to continue the dialogue to seek solutions for all problems of common interest. The military accord also stipulates the setting up of a historic military commission to deal with problems of history....

[Florescu] Nevertheless, what do you say about the repeated "outburst" of some Hungarian figures such as the one mentioned a moment ago?

[Stanculescu] As you know, in numerous countries some people try to make political capital not out of solving problems but out of statements that will cause a sensation in international relations. We do not agree with such methods. First and foremost, we have to bear in mind that there are rational people, those who judge lucidly and are interested in establishing positive relations with us.

[Florescu] In your speech to the Parliament, you referred to the Paris Treaty on disarmament. What is actually happening with that treaty, which has not yet been ratified by any country?...

[Stanculescu] I think that at this time Europe is especially involved in the Gulf problem and the events in the USSR. Europe is waiting for these great problems to be solved after which a first step would be the ratification of those accords, which are especially important for the Europeans, but also for others interested in a calm Europe.

[Florescu] We would like you to say a few words about the Warsaw Pact. What is—clearly put—Romania's position?

[Stanculescu] Our position is very clear. It was presented in the Romanian Government Declaration that categorically emphasizes that the military composition of this treaty is no longer topical at this point. We—the foreign minister and the defense minister—are going to Warsaw to sign that treaty, probably on 1 April. No one is interested in continuing the military commitment that existed up to now.

[Florescu] Esteemed Minister, although you are the leader of the Army, we would like to hear your opinion about the progress of the reform. Economic problems are of the greatest concern today. We want to know what your opinion is because in the first days after the revolution you were given the task of minister of the national economy.

[Stanculescu] An economic reform program that I consider as very good and modern regarding its solutions bears in mind three main elements: a) The involvement of the whole nation in achieving such an objective; b) improved functioning of the new structures; c) a substantial presence of foreign partners to ensure credits for bold projects.

We note that there are difficulties in each of these fields; none of these elements, which was borne in mind when the program was formulated, functions properly.

[Florescu] Esteemed Minister, recently you gave a cocktail party to press and radio-television representatives. The atmosphere was very good, although it gathered journalists with very different political convictions. What is your opinion about the fate of this country—is conciliation and civilized multiparty cooperation, without which our progress would be seriously affected, possible?

[Stanculescu] First, I believed it was necessary for press and radio-television representatives to come to know the higher ranking cadres of our Army under less official circumstances. I believe that when inter-human relations are good, people understand each other better. Then it is my desire for journalists to have greater access to the base of the Army, to become acquainted with units, to become familiar with their normal reactions and their values, and to express their views, which we also need.

As far as our country's fate is concerned, I am completely optimistic. It is our desire to involve all those who want the best for our country, irrespective of their views and the methods they propose. I am confident that in acting calmly and with empathy, by paying proper attention to each figure—to the individual and his family—but also to each commune, county, and party urging them to do the good they are capable of, we will succeed in achieving reconciliation without which Romania's progress will, indeed, be impossible.

[Florescu] Finally, as the minister of the Army, we would like to ask you, Colonel General, to let us know your opinion about the events in the Gulf. What are the forecasts of a great specialist in the military art?

[Stanculescu] When I made my first commentary on the Gulf, I opted for political solutions. Now all of us are awaiting the results of the latest political interventions—although I have become skeptical about this kind of solution. The military option will probably bring about a political solution that—and this is our desire—should be to the advantage of all peoples in that area and to the advantage of the peoples in the rest of the world who have interests in that part of the globe.

Several Hundred Attend Brasov Anticommunist Rally

AU0203183591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1991—Religious services were held at Brasov in commemoration of two years since the artist Liviu Babes set fire to himself on the "Bradul Ski Track" of Poiana Brasov, to protest against the totalitarian, communist regime.

On the occasion, a commemoration rally was held in the Town Hall Square, counting a few hundred people.

Dumitru Iuga (leader of the Free TV Union), Petre Mihai Bacanu, Mihai Sora (chairman of the Civic Alliance), Gabriel Andreescu, Petru Cretia, representatives

of the Brasov, Timis, Covasna and other local branches of the Civic Alliance, representatives of a number of unions took the floor.

Anticommunist slogans were chanted. The participants were announced a union alliance Timisoara-Brasov-Craiova-Bucharest-Constanta-Roman was created.

* Army Role in December 1989 Events Noted

91BA0318A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Feb 91 pp 1, 7

[Unattributed article: "A Document Concealed From the Public: The Conclusions of the Governmental Commission on the December 1989 Events in Timisoara"]

[Text] The governmental commission appointed under Decision No. 566 of 22 February 1990 of the prime minister studied the material gathered about the activities of the Military Command active in Timisoara between 17-22 December 1989 and noted the following:

A Military Command was established in Timisoara on 17 December 1989, made up of the following high ranking officers and generals of the Ministry of National Defense [MND]: Major General Stefan Guse, first deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff; Major General Victor Stanculescu, deputy defense minister; Brigadier General Mihai Chitac, head of the MND antichemical warfare defense; Colonel Dumitru Ionescu, Colonel Radu Gheorghe, Colonel Vasile Ionita, Colonel Dragan, Colonel Ardelean, Lieutenant Colonel Straiescu, Lieutenant Colonel Petru Marchis, Lieutenant Colonel Alexandru Petre, Major Vasile Rusu, Major Pascut, Major Popescu, Major Bucurei, Colonel Ioan Sulca, Major Bica, Captain Gologan, General Staff cadres, and cadres of the Craiova Army Command.

Generals Cirneanu and Ilie Ceausescu were also in Timisoara during the Revolution.

According to statements by persons interviewed by the commission and to the logbook of the Major Unit, the following facts were culled about the activities carried out by some members of the Command that operated during the respective period: Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse was active at the Major Unit Command together with Brig. Gen. Mihai Chitac and the other General Staff officers and staff of the Major Unit No. 02540 of Craiova.

He coordinated the activities of the MND units at the Timisoara Garrison. This fact emerged from statements made by Lt. Col. Constantin Zeca (pp 6-14), Lt. Col. Stefan Balasz (pp 37-40), Maj. Roman Cistelecan (pp 41-42), Col. Petru Marchis (pp 20-23), and from the Major Unit's logbook located at the secret documents office of the garrison command.

As such, Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse ordered the MND units to act firmly—and also use their weapons—with a view to restoring order in Timisoara.

In the course of his activities Gen. Stefan Guse maintained permanent contact with the MND and Ion Coman.

Through Ion Coman or directly, Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse cooperated with the Interior Ministry Command appointed in Timisoara (along this line, see Ion Coman's statements, pp 165-167; Radu Balan, pp 170-172; Maj. Ioan Dragos, pp 94-96; and Capt. Constantin Draghici, p 70).

This cooperation materialized, among other things, in the drafting of operational maps showing the deployment of MND and Interior Ministry combat installations.

Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse issued orders through the Major Unit Command (see statements by Lt. Col. Stefan Balasz and Maj. Roman Cistelecan, pp 37-42), or directly to the commanding officers of various units (see statements by First Lt. Maricel Cristea, pp 97-98 and Sgt. Maj. Constantin Brincoveanu, pp 91-92, and unit logbook).

Brig. Gen. Victor Stanculescu carried out his activities at the former Timis County Romanian Communist Party Committee together with Ion Coman, for whom he acted whenever the latter was absent from the office. He participated in the organization of military operations and mapping military combat installations and in cooperation between the MND and the Interior Ministry (see statements by Ion Coman in this respect, pp 165-167; Emil Macri, pp 168-169; Radu Balan, pp 170-172; and Lt. Col. Constantin Zeca, pp 6-14).

Brig. Gen Mihai Chitac was active at the Major Unit headquarters directly under Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse and discharged missions in the municipality of Timisoara.

He gave the order to bring tear gas from Bucharest and Sibiu to the Timisoara Garrison and distributed the gas to the military installations; he also instructed the troops in the use of tear gas and antichemical warfare protection (see statements by Lt. Col. Iuliu Elek, pp 24-26 and Capt. Nicolae Bobos, p 93, and unit logbook).

According to statements by Capt. Sergiu Tocarciuc (pp 82-87), CS-type chemicals were used against the demonstrators; chemical analyses showed that the substance used was O-chlorobenzylidenmalonitril (pp 3-5).

According to the same statement, such chemicals are used in combat, never in the process of troops instruction.

In the afternoon of 18 December 1989, on the order of Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse and of Ion Coman, Gen. Mihai Chitac went to the Cathedral of Timisoara where he coordinated the activities of MND and Interior Ministry deployments which were in action against the demonstrators. On his order, measures were taken to suppress the demonstrators by opening fire and tossing grenades loaded with the above-mentioned chemical. Gen. Chitac also ordered demonstrators seized and taken to detention facilities for questioning. Gen. Chitac was present when persons arrested on that occasion were maltreated. (These facts were culled from statements on pages: 24-26, 37-40, 54-61, 62-67, 94-96, 99-106, 122-124, 130-132, 133-134-135, 136-137, 138-141,

142, 143-145, 148-150, 151-153, 154-155, 156-157, 158-159, 160, 161, 162-163, and 164-167, and from the Major Unit logbook).

The group of officers from the General Staff and Major Unit 02540 of Craiova carried out their activities at the Major Unit headquarters directly under Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse, whose orders they implemented. The commander of the Major Unit, i.e., Lt. Col. Constantin Zeca and Lt. Col. Predonescu carried out Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse's orders.

The material collected by the commission showed that Maj. Nicolae Ilie, currently a police officer, carried out Gen. Mihai Chitac's orders and tossed tear gas grenades at the demonstrators on 18 December 1989 (see explanatory note by Gen. Mihai Chitac, pp 202-236).

It also emerged that Maj. Ioan Sucala, a militia officer, opened fire on the Cathedral demonstrators on 18 December 1989 (see statements by eye witnesses on pp 183, 190-193, 194-197).

In view of the above facts, the commission recommends that the Military Prosecutor's Office of Timisoara open penal investigations against: Maj. Gen. Stefan Guse, Gen. Victor Stanculescu, Gen. Mihai Chitac, Maj. Nicolae Ilie, and Maj. Ioan Sucala.

Note Remarks on Income Tax on High Salaries

AU0303181691 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Feb 91 p 8

["G.L." -signed note: "Presidential Tax"]

[Text] The compensation that followed the "liberalization" definitely favored those who have lower salaries—that is what Mr. Roman said. If one were to believe him, he meant that those most affected were the parliamentarians with monthly salaries of over 10,000 lei, ministers with an income of more than 15,000 lei, the prime minister with 18,000 lei, and the president himself with 19,000 lei per month, who, just like teachers (with a starting salary of 2,500 lei) received 750 lei compensation. The government is only human, at least it appears to be, and ensures a certain degree of social protection. Certainly, this is very special or maybe original social protection.

In accordance with the same interesting (distorted) way of thinking, the people who are most affected by taxes will be those poor ones with high salaries. It is one thing for you, simple worker, to pay a few hundred lei and totally different to pay 5,402 lei to the state. This would be exactly the right figure for President Iliescu's income tax. That is, in accordance with the law (for the category that includes salaries of 15-20,000 lei) 4,002 lei and an extra 35 percent for that part of the salary that exceeds 15,000 lei. Can one still say that there is no justice and equity in the world? We wonder, does the president pay income tax on his fixed income?

Roman Meets PHARE Delegation; Accord Signed

AU0103195291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/3/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman received on Friday the delegation of the Commission of European Communities for PHARE [Economic Restructuring Aid for Poland and Hungary] 1991, led by Jean-Louis Cadieux, director-general of the Directorate-General for External Affairs of the Commission of European Communities, in charge of state trade countries, Efta countries, with unrefundable assistance for reforms and with the Group of 24 countries. The guest is accompanied by Marc Franco, Amir Naquvi Tino Sinigaglia, Jeremy Rand, Gerard Emion, experts of the Department for PHARE Assistance Coordination of the Commission.

The interview occasioned the tackling of questions related to community unrefundable assistance for reform and economic restructuring for 1991 of a PHARE type, the evolution of Romania's relations with the European Community in the perspective of the forthcoming ratification of the accord with the EEC.

Attending for Romania was Adrian Severin, minister adviser to the prime minister for reform and relations with Parliament.

In the presence of Prime Minister Petre Roman, Jean-Louis Cadieux and Adrian Severin signed the PHARE assistance programme for Romania for 1991.

The document outlines the materialization of programmes of technical assistance, expertise, studies and consulting as well as the supply of facilities Romania needs in restructuring, privatization and development of the private sector. The programme stipulates the allotment to Romania of 80-110 million ecu in 1991 and is meant to develop the framework for a market economy, create a labor market and social protection systems, more particularly to fight unemployment in Romania.

Prime Minister Leaves for Latin America Tour

AU0403095791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman started Monday morning [4 March] on a Latin American tour that will mark "an important moment in Romania's relationship—politically, economically and culturally—with that zone. In a statement before departure, Prime Minister Roman said the visit reaffirms Romania's interest in this geographic zone that holds a great future for the international community. The three countries to be visited Chile, Ecuador and Brazil are big sources of raw materials Romania needs and potential partners for cooperation in various areas, added the prime minister who hoped the visit would be a success.

'Constructive Atmosphere' at Presidency Session

AU0103193891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] The SFRY Presidency continued discussing the country's political future today at a session chaired by Dr. Borisav Jovic. The president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], the vice president of the SFRY Assembly, and the presidents of the republics, excluding the president of Croatia, that is to say, the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, also took part in the work of the session.

As announced, in a constructive atmosphere and a very exhaustive exchange of views, proposals and suggestions were put forward regarding functions which would be carried out jointly in a future Yugoslav community, and these would be in the fields of national defense, foreign policy and international relations, the economy, and human rights and freedoms and their protection. It was stated that there is a considerable level of agreement on these functions, but there are certain differences in the degree and way in which they should be carried out.

It was decided that before the next session, which will be held on 12 March, a comparative study would be prepared on the views and stands on joint functions that have been put forward in the discussions held so far at the presidency sessions. In the meantime, an interrepublican group of experts will work over the next week on bringing the stands closer together. At the next session of the SFRY Presidency, which will be attended by the FEC president, the SFRY Assembly president, and all presidents of the republics and provinces, the proposal on joint functions will be discussed that relate to defense and the economy, and after that foreign policy functions and civil rights and freedoms.

Regarding the proposal for the constitutional-legal procedure for separation from Yugoslavia, which was the second point on the session's agenda, it was decided that the necessary consultations will be held in the republics before the next session and it will be discussed again on 12 March.

The SFRY Presidency was also briefed on the activities that the FEC have been involved in with the republics and provinces with the aim of overcoming economic and financial problems and ensuring that the federation functions until a political agreement is reached on the country's future. The FEC will propose essential laws and other measures to the SFRY Assembly.

Presidency Discusses State Structure

LD0103181191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's session of the SFRY Presidency (still under way at 1400), presided over by Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic, was acquainted with the present activities of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and with the government's agreements with the republics on overcoming Yugoslavia's economic and financial problems.

At the session, which in addition to the members of the Presidency is being attended by all republican presidents with the exception of Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, discussion is under way on the documents "Outline of the Content of the Most Important Relations in the Yugoslav State Community" and "Draft of the Constitutional and Legal Procedure for Separation from Yugoslavia." These two documents were prepared in accordance with the conclusions of the session of the SFRY Presidency held in Sarajevo by special professional working groups.

The full texts of these documents read:

"Outline of the Content of the Most Important Relations in the Yugoslav State Community"

At the session of the SFRY Presidency held on 22 February 1991 in Sarajevo—in the work of which the president of the FEC, the vice president of the SFRY Assembly, and all the republican presidents, or rather the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces, took part—it was concluded that before the next session of the SFRY Presidency, to be convened with the same composition on 1 March in Belgrade, a special professional working group consisting of one representative from each Republic should draw up an outline of the content of the most important relations in the Yugoslav state community.

In accordance with the said conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, the professional working group has drawn up this draft outline of the content of the most important relations in the Yugoslav state community.

I—Basic assumptions for the drafting of the outline

In drafting the outline of the content of the most important relations in the Yugoslav state community, we proceeded from the assumption that this community will be a federal state of equal citizens and equal nations and their republics (footnote: Professor Kasim Trnka of Bosnia-Hercegovina proposed that when enumerating the subjects constituting the federal state, prominence should be given in first place to the republics) and, as a democratic state, will be founded on human and civil liberties and rights, the rule of law, and social justice.

The federal state must have state-legal and international-legal subjectivity and sovereignty within the framework of functions, or rights and obligations, established by the federal Constitution. This implies that it must have at its disposal the legislative, executive-constitutional, and judicial powers with which to ensure the effective and qualitative realization of these rights and obligations—that is, the sovereign (footnote: Prof. Kasim Trnka of Bosnia-Hercegovina proposes that the word "sovereign" be deleted, and the following text substituted: "Citizens, nations, and nationalities realize their sovereign rights in the republics, and common interests in the Yugoslav

state cmmunity") rights which citizens, nations, and their republics realize in the federal state as established under the federal Constitution (footnote: Prof. Trnka proposed the following formulation: "The constitutional order of the Yugoslav state community is established by the Constitution—that is, by the constitutional agreement adopted on the basis of the agreement of all republics as sovereign and equal states").

The Federal State is Self-Financing.

The concept of the rights and responsibilities of the federal state, which it should have in implementing the joint interests of citizens, the Yugoslav nations, and their republics, presupposes the following aspirations and needs:

—the functions of the federal state should be restricted in keeping with general demands for the democratization and removal of etatism in the economic and general social life and relations—particularly in accordance with the demands of a market-oriented economy.

—the federal state should be responsible for the following areas: human rights and freedoms, the economic system and economic policy, foreign policy and international relations, and defense and security, to an extent determined by the federal Constitution.

—the country as a whole must develop in such a way to ensure that conditions are created for its just participation in modern economic and democratic integration processes in the world, especially in Europe.

The constitutional order of the Yugoslav state community is determined by the Constitution, which is passed on the basis of a consensus of all republics.

II—A list of the most important relations in the Yugoslav state community

1. Basic democratic rights and freedoms of men and citizens

Proceeding from the conviction that the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the acceptance of man as the highest value, represent a basis for the realization and functioning of every democratic order, the scope of these rights would be expanded, and they would be better protected. This expansion would be carried out in keeping with international laws and the needs and demands of the modern, post-industrial era. A jointly-established scope of human rights and freedoms—a necessary requirement for every democratic community—would be uniformly implemented and ensured at the level of the Yugoslav state community. The specific nature of the rights and freedoms of men and citizens would be determined in the process of drawing up the federal Constitution, and implemented at the level of the Yugoslav state community.

The community would guarantee all the rights, freedoms, and duties of men and citizens representing an achievement for civilization and in keeping with the standards set by the constitutional laws of modern democratic states. Within this framework, special guarantees would be given for the rights and freedoms included in relevant international legal documents, such as treaties on human rights and other UN international legal documents.

The constitution should also determine the rights that would be guaranteed by the Federation, and protected by the law.

Members of national minorities, in other words nationalities, would also be guaranteed specific rights in accordance with the standards of international law.

2. Common economic functions

Common economic functions are established in line with the commodity-based nature of the economy, in which the market provides the basic mechanism for harmonizing production, exchange, distribution, and consumption, and which also determines the value of all factors of the production and the results of labor.

The territory of the Yugoslav state community is a single economic space. The exchange of commodities and goods, the flow of capital, labor, know-how, and information, is free in this space (without customs and other restrictions).

In the territory of the single Yugoslav state community, only one currency is valid.

All forms of ownership are equal, and have the same status in the market, as far as business conditions and legal protection are concerned.

Economic and other activities are carried out freely and in line with the law. The federal state ensures undisrupted functioning of the single Yugoslav market, equal conditions for carrying out economic activity, and protection from monopoly and unfair competition.

Bearing in mind our experiences so far, as well as the experiences of modern market economies, it seems justified and fitting to secure the following in the Yugoslav state community:

—a single monetary and banking system; a single system of economic relations with foreign countries (a foreign currency and customs system, and a system for raising and servicing foreign loans and foreign investment); and a single basis for a taxation system. (footnote: In making decisions, experience and the orientation of the European Community should be taken into account;)

—a single monetary and taxation policy (alternative: a common taxation policy), and a common policy of economic relations with foreign countries;

—a common development policy, including a policy on regional development, and in particular a development policy for insufficiently developed regions;

—a common policy and single technical-technological system in the areas of transportation, communications, energy, and other technical-technological systems.

3. The area of foreign policy and international relations

Yugoslavia, as an international-legal subject, would continue to have at its disposal certain classic attributes of external sovereignty and traditional foreign policy prerogatives, such as: maintaining diplomatic relations, membership in international organizations, conclusion of international treaties, establishing foreign policy, and accountability for its implementation.

The republics would be more active participants in the process of developing and implementing a common foreign policy for Yugoslavia. In the framework of the established foreign policy and international treaties concluded by Yugoslavia, the republics would be able to realize various contacts and cooperation with the relevant partners abroad, and act as the subjects of specific international relations.

Within the framework of the common foreign policy of Yugoslavia, the republics would have the possibility of founding, in areas where they have particular economic, national, ecological, regional, or other interests, the appropriate representative offices abroad, and of joining the appropriate international organizations and regional communities. They would also be able to conclude international and regional agreements in areas that fall within their competence (for example, environmental protection, border trade, and so on), but not agreements of a political and military nature, or agreements detrimental to the Yugoslav community or other republics. The republics would, as they do at present, maintain international ties and exchange delegations in various spheres: culture, science, technology, and so on.

In addition, the appropriate republican representation in the diplomatic corps would be ensured, as well as the rationalization and significant reduction of Yugoslavia's present network of diplomatic and consular missions abroad. (footnote: Prof. Trnka proposes the following text of this paragraph: "The eventual recognition of the capacity of the republics as international-legal subjects is not excluded. The republics, in accordance with their interests and the degree of their international recognition, may conclude international agreements, open economic, consular, and diplomatic missions, and join international organizations.")

4. The country's defense and security

a) The conception of defense should be based on the preparation and participation of all the country's potentials for the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of Yugoslavia as a whole, and of each of its constituent parts.

To realize these goals effectively, the following are organized:

—the Armed Forces, and

—the system of civil defense.

The Armed Forces of Yugoslavia are united, and composed of: a peacetime section, which is numerically smaller but mobile, and has a high level of combat readiness, a section that draws recruits from the reserves; and territorial defense, as a partisan-territorial form of military organization intended for carrying out the military-territorial function in war and for mass combat action behind enemy lines when conditions are created for this.

The system of civil defense comprises: organization, training, and activities by citizens and the sociopolitical community in defense and protection, civil protection, and the system of reconnaissance and intelligence gathering. In the organization and the training and use of civil defense forces the republics, as constituent parts of Yugoslavia, have full authority.

The authorities of the federal services in defense are:

—the estabishment of defense policy, doctrine, and strategy;

—decisionmaking on war and peace;

—the establishment of questions of a wartime alliance;

—the organization, equipping, development, training, financing, and use of the Armed Forces.

The authority of the republics in defense is: the organization, equipping, and engagement of civil defense.

The supreme commander of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia in peace and in war is the nominal head of state.

Command and other specialist duties for the needs of implementing the supreme command system, and for carrying out administrative tasks in the domain of defense, are within the authority of the federal Ministry of Defense.

The command system in peace and war is realized by the head of state through the minister of defense, or rather the Supreme Command Headquarters.

Appropriate national representation within the leading cadre and sections of the Armed Forces is ensured in the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. (footnote: Professor Trnka believes that the following wording should be added: "Territorial defense and other forms of the Armed

Forces (the militia, the police, and such) are organized in the republic. The Yugoslav Army must be depoliticized, de jure and de facto, and organized rationally, while the national composition of its command cadre must be a balanced one.")

b) When establishing the basis for the protection of the constitutional order, the point of departure should continue to be that the security of the Yugoslav community is indivisible, and that this requires a certain degree of unity within the state security service regarding its program, functionality, and technology. All experience—both domestic and foreign—draws attention to the fact that it is rational that parts of a common state use common potential and the security service for the protection of their own security, and vice-versa; organizing their own security in a good way, they make a contribution to common security.

The division of authority and responsibility between the state security service at the level of the common state, and the state security services in the republic, should be defined in precise terms. The basic principle is that the affairs of state security are carried out directly by the services in the republics, while the state security service at the level of the common state has a harmonizing function and a function of inspection in the realizaiton of federal laws, as well as direct tasks placed within its remit by the decisions of the government. The mechanisms of the responsibility of the state security service and the forms of the supervision of its work should also be established in precise terms.

III—The method for realizing the content of the most important relations in the Yugoslav state community.

The conception of common services, the democratic procedure for elections, the method for making decisions, and their authority—that should be ensured by the effective realization of these functions—will be determiend in keeping with commonly established functions, or rather common interests, it says at the end of the document "Outline of the Content of the Most Important Relations in the Yugoslav State Community."

Draft of the Constitutional and Legal Procedure for Separation from Yugoslavia

Regarding the initiatives in some republics for secession, separation—in other words "division of the SFRY"—the question arises about a procedure for the possible realization of these initiatives, bearing in mind the general request that the constitutional crisis be solved in a peaceful, democratic, and constitutionally-established way.

The above initiatives are directed toward the departure of some republics from the SFRY. They are based on the permanent and inalienable right of nations to self-determination, and should be regulated by the Constitution.

The right of nations to self-determination, as one of the universal rules of contemporary law, is expressed in the fundamental principles of the SFRY Constitution.

The realization of the right of nations to self-determination, which means a possibility that some republics may depart from the SFRY, is neither regulated nor made operational [operacionalizovano] by the SFRY Constitution. For this reason it is vital to provide a constitutional basis for it. This means that in this respect it is necessary to provide adequate addenda to the SFRY Constitution.

The restructuring of the SFRY Constitution should in this sense proceed, in particular, from the principle of the people declaring themselves for or against it in a democratic procedure; from the equality of Yugoslav nations and the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of men and citizens; as well as from the principle of solving all conflicts in a peaceful way, through agreement.

In keeping with the above, the SFRY Constitution should be updated with an adequate constitutional amendment, which would regulate in a general way the procedure for the realization of the right of nations to secession, and consequently the departure of some republics from the SFRY.

The amendment to the SFRY Constitution should be directed in the following way:

1. Republican assemblies have the right to initiate the separation of their republics from the SFRY, unless this right is differently regulated by the republican constitution.

2. A decision on this initiative is passed at a referendum, ensuring that all citizens in a republic could vote for or against it in free, direct, and secret elections.

3. The public and voters are fully, objectively, and promptly informed about the importance and consequences of the referendum while preparations for it are under way.

4. The referendum is conducted under the public control of representatives of the SFRY Assembly, with the possibility for representatives from other republics and interested international institutions to make an inspection.

5. The decision passed at a referendum is valid if more than 50 percent of the total number of voters declare themselves for it.

6. In republics occupied by members of several Yugoslav nations, the necessary majority is also determined for each Yugoslav nation separately. If any of the nations vote against [secession], all places in which members of that nation are in the majority, and are bordering on the remaining part of the Yugoslav territory and can represent a territorial entity, shall remain within the SFRY.

7. If the outcome of the referendum is negative, the same issue can be raised only at the end of a five-year deadline.

8. Republican assemblies inform the public and the SFRY Assembly about the outcome of the referendum, submitting to the Assembly a proposal for passing a constitutional law on the separation of a specific republic from the SFRY, in keeping with the will of the people voiced at the referendum.

9. The SFRY Assembly declares the legality and legitimacy of the expressed will of the people and of members of nations, and instructs the FEC to make necessary preparations for the passing of a law on separation from the SFRY.

Within this framework, the FEC is obliged:

a) to prepare a draft of the so-called "divisional balance" of commonly generated value and federal property. (footnote: this is a reference to movable and immovable property that comes under the heading of property of the SFRY in the country and abroad: international obligations and outstanding debts; funds of the Yugoslav National Bank; foreign exchange; commodity and monetary reserves of the Federation; property of the Yugoslav People's Army; the Archives of Yugoslavia; certain infrastructural facilities; and licenses and other rights and obligations arising out of ratified international conventions. The FEC draft would also encompass questions regarding citizenship, pension, and other such rights of citizens. Here the constituting of solidarity-like responsibility for the obligations and guarantees of the SFRY in relations with foreign countries is also assumed.)

b) to propose to the SFRY Assembly the method of the election and authorization of a body or commission—based on equal representation within it—that will prepare for the SFRY Assembly a draft of the division of rights and duties.

c) to prepare a draft on territorial division and the borders of states and other issues of importance when establishing the document on separation.

10. On the basis of the draft of the FEC on material and territorial issues, the SFRY Assembly establishes, on the basis of the consent of the republican assemblies, a constitutional act (constitutional law) on separation from the SFRY, which establishes, inter alia:

—the right of citizens to have an option (the deadline for and method of citizens' voting in the event of territorial changes) and the obligation to secure just compensation as a result of a change in residence;

—the obligation to ensure the uniformity of the judicial protection of the rights of citizens, legal entities, and members of certain nations that have been infringed upon (damages which are a direct consequence of the implementation of the right to separation and others);

—the obligation to harmonize certain laws and other enactments with changes in the composition of the SFRY;

—the supervision and inspection of the implementation of established obligations;

—other questions which it is vital to resolve before definitive separation (In the field of jurisprudence, the protection of the environment, joint ventures, and such)

—a transition period, and the moment of separation from the SFRY.

The proposed procedure for the constitutional and agreed realization of the rights of nations to secession proceeds from the essence of our constitutional and legal system, and is in keeping with international conventions and the contemporary principles of international relations, it is concluded at the end of the document "Draft of the Constitutional and Legal Procedure for Separation from Yugoslavia."

Markovic on Presidency Session, Policy

LD0303204791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—I hope we succeeded in making the participants of the expanded SFRY Presidency session aware of the vital need to remove the political blockade and eliminate its consequences, as far as relations between republics and their attitude to the joint state is concerned. Moreover, the problems this causes will mean that, from a state of what I would call near bliss—what we were in until last autumn—we would fall into an abyss that neither this country nor its citizens deserve and which we still can avoid, said Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in an interview with VECERNJE NOVOSTI, to be published tomorrow.

In the interview, conducted on Friday immediately after the expanded Presidency ended, the FEC President said that, apart from establishing the basic elements of the legal system and the functions of the systems of payments, money, and foreign exchange that had been severed and disrupted, a great deal could certainly be improved.

I am not saying that we will return to last summer, but we will ensure the continuation of the process of reforms as well as the process of restructuring in society and especially in the economy and banks. On this basis we could start negotiations with international financial institutions, primarily the IMF, and gain the necessary support from abroad. If we fail to get this support, our net capital drain this year will be $4.3 billion, that is about 5 percent of the social product, warned the prime minister.

The FEC managed to motivate political forces to think how to bridge this gap, and I think we are considerably

closer to this than before and are moving step by step toward the optimum level advocated by the Federal government. This optimum level would help the country stabilize its economic and social development and make the system function and would help to ensure the continuation of reforms and the establishment of normal communications between all parts of the country, which is currently divided.

These activities were largely supported both at the previous session and at this last Presidency session, Markovic noted. Only the support during the discussion and the support in real life are unfortunately at odds. He added that the second part of talks on the country's future during the session went quite badly.

Having decided that it was a real miracle that we have not had two-figure inflation since the end of last year, the FEC president explained that this illustrated how powerful the FEC program of reforms is in these almost impossible conditions.

If the current situation continues, if anarchy and chaos remain and the laws of the "wild west" reign, no one will be able to regulate the inflation. This country, unfortunately, would then no longer be capable of coping with yet another hyperinflation, which is why we are struggling to contain it.

In the second half of last year, political circumstances in the country—the inability and unpreparedness of the political climate to take a positive attitude to all economic changes—contributed to the disruptive developments that thus far have been successful. Unfortunately, the price of all political changes, including multiparty elections, was very high. This price also included an escalation in public spending and wages. Not only did no one show any restraint in this, stressed Markovic, but attempts were also made to pay as much as possible, regardless of results. He added that a departure from reforms is the cause of the current chaos. First, it was the wages; then public consumption; and only then lack of payments into the federal budget; followed by incursions upon the systems of payments, money, and foreign exchange. Public consumpton escalated 50 percent in the last quarter. There was also a 60 percent rise in wages and about 100 percent in the foreign exchange system and monetary policy. [as received]

We can still save it all. That is the most important thing. True, something will be sacrificed again. Everything that has been achieved so far now requires an even sharper drop in production to stabilize the situation. Consequently, had this money been invested in helping the economy and in boosting production and exports, we would have brought about positive effects. This money was wasted.

The FEC president also denied claims that the government had approved of restrictive lending and monetary policies, thus pushing the economy into illiquidity, as he presented data illustrating an enormous increase in the volume of monetary aggregate in the second half of the year.

January's salaries were 91 percent higher this January than last January, whereas inflation increased 66 percent over the same period. By these standards, this means that salaries had in fact increased one-third. Unfortunately, there are workers who are considerably below this level. I have to say, however, that nowhere in the world is there a single program of stabilization and reform that can ensure a real increase in salaries and spending alongside a real increase in production. No one has achieved this, Markovic explained.

He then added that they had planned funds earmarked for social programs for this year, too; but there are also problems with the budget. Even the funds for these purposes from foreign sources ($200 million) have been called into question because of the country's political crisis.

So far, the republics have not been preoccupied with economic problems. They are preoccupied with sovereignty, hegemonies, political battles, effects stemming from their establishing power, and so forth. [N]ow, they are beginning to face up to reality. It becomes increasingly obvious that symbols, the past, insignia, and politicizing do not provide for a living. One earns a living by doing what one must do. They are now beginning to face these problems and sober up.

At this point, it becomes clear what they know and are capable of, and this is why they often accuse others: to disguise their shortcomings. We are, of course, duty-bound and willing both as individuals and as an institution to engage as much as possible in compiling this knowledge and experience—ours and foreign—as well as extra funds that we acutely need; but sadly enough, hardly anyone is interested in these matters, said the president of the Federal Government.

We agree with the economic chamber and businessmen who demand an unburdening of the economy. The FEC forwarded a law on unburdening the economy, which is currenty in the Assembly procedure. Interestengly enough, no republic thus far has agreed to endorse this law, Markovic said.

He then went on to reiterate that the Federal Administration has been reduced by about 2,700 people.

In the lengthy interview, he countered criticism that he has not made his position about key issues clear: The FEC, and I as its president, concluded that talks about future relations in the country must not be opened with the issue of what shape the future order will take. If the talks are opened with this issue, we will immediately start arguing and will politicize the issue. Furthermore, we will find ourselves entrenched in various camps that would only split hairs and thus turn the talks into a purely scholastic exercise, the FEC president specified.

From the very beginning, he continued, in favoring Yugoslavia we believed that, if we want Yugoslavia to survive, we must open talks on key issues on the future relations in our country: what system we want to develop and what quality and what relations should exist in a common country, a common state. From this, we should determine what the organization and mutual relations between individual republics and within the Yugoslav state should be. This did not mean that we had no stand but, on the contrary, that we had a clear orientation. We now can see that, objectively and realistically speaking, it is only possible to follow the road that the FEC and I personally have been advocating since the beginning. As you can see, those who are entrenched behind the federation or confederation option are unable to change their positions.

I have no intention, nor did I have any, of voicing my attitude toward those issues that are beyond the state's competence, particularly beyond the FEC's competence and consequently beyond mine. As far as the arming of paramilitary units is concerned, I have to tell you that not only did I know nothing about it, but I learned about it at so late a stage that it had already been completed. At the same time, I did my best to prevent them from operating and being put to the their intended use. I think I did contribute something because I was reproached for protecting some people. All I did was attempt to prevent bloodshed. We may make all sorts of mistakes and even redress them, but to bury the dead only to be unearthed after I don't know how many years and have new bloodstained cracks created between our peoples—I do not think we need that, stressed Markovic. In this context, he said, it is perfectly clear that courts must mind their own business. I have not interfered in a single lawsuit. One might ask why I did not interfere in the trial of Azem Vlasi, just as he might ask why I did not interefere in the case of Martin Spegelj. This is none of my business; it is up to a court. A court ought to be independent, otherwise there is no law-governed state. Nor is this a matter of government; nor is this the way I see my job, emphasized Markovic.

We still maintain that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution should be adopted. Although they do not solve all questions, they do away with or bridge over most of the incompatibilities between the Yugoslav and republican constitutions. In this way, we would eventually have a situation maintained by legal and legitimate means. It is hard to regulate a situation under which constitutional systems are at odds with each other. Despite this, we nevertheless believe that these propositions of ours are so much in the interest of each individual part and of the country as a whole that they can be accepted regardless of the differences in the constitutional solutions.

The FEC president explained, in particular, that the change in the ownership structure is a key problem not only in the economy but also in the complete reform of our society. Therefore, in essence the basic battle will continue to be conducted over ownership in the country, because everything that follows is built on this. The FEC proposed that, in favorable conditions, some enterprises be sold to workers within a 10-year period, precisely so in this way some of the money that would go into pay is invested in enterprises, so people feel themselves to be owners, so the ownership structure is changed immediately, so new management relations are established, and so workers are motivated to be more successful and accept the reform. All this has been negated and halted at a high price for the whole of society.

After this explanation and warning, Markovic said that the theory by which there is no embarking on reprivatisation because of the fear of abuse is worthless. All those who are now bringing about state socialism [etatizacija] and the support of these socially owned enterprises use this as their main explanation. We calculated, for example, that it pays us as a society to give away socially owned residences as gifts, because maintenance, indifference, and everything else costs us so much each year that, on this basis, it would be possible to build the same number of residences again each year, while sales at a specified value are only a bonus in all this. We have not decided to give these away as gifts. Of course speculation is also possible. If, however, someone thinks that possible processes are without waste and losses, then he is thoroughly deceiving himself. If we want to prevent a loss in the transformation of ownership, then we must halt it. This is the only possible way. You cannot protect yourself from thieves by putting all citizens in prison, concluded FEC President Ante Markovic in his talks with VECERNJE NOVOSTI editor Milos Miljkovic.

Addresses Need for United Action

LD0103155791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0515 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, February 27 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Ante Markovic has again urged the six Yugoslav republics to agree on the functioning of the country as soon as possible, so that a final accord on its future can be reached, thus avoiding a complete "erosion which may turn into an explosion."

According to the unauthorized text of his statement at the State Presidency's session last Friday [22 February], which was released here today, Markovic cautioned that the pace of consultations "is now evidently in collision with that of the process of erosion" in Yugoslavia.

He called on the republics's representatives on the Presidency to uphold the 11 minimum conditions formulated by the federal government late last year for the functioning of the federation until the final accord was reached.

The federal legislatures refusal to adopt some of the bills essential for the functioning of the "minimum" federation may bring Yugoslavia to the edge of chaos, warned Markovic.

He stated that without additional finance, the country "has no chances at all to prevent the social and all other kinds of erosion that may result from it."

The prime minister told the State Presidency that Yugoslavia cannot obtain the necessary four billion dollars in credits without reaching a preliminary accord with the International Monetary Fund. For its part, the Fund requires the Yugoslav state's guarantees that the credits will be repaid.

It would be illusory to think that the Fund could agree to the republics' guaranteeing international finance agreements, said Prime Minister Markovic.

He told the members of the top Yugoslav leadership that the agreement could be signed within a month or two provided the republics have agreed on it, and made it clear that this would in no way jeopardize the accord on the future of the country.

On the contrary, this would create the necessary conditions for its being reached at all, said Markovic.

Presidency Statement Assails Slovenia, Croatia

LD0103160891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—At its session of 28 Feb this year, chaired by President Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency discussed the report on the adoption of Amendment 99 to the Slovene Constitution and its resolution on agreed separation from the SFRY as well as the relevant resolution of the Croatian Assembly on the changes to the constitutional law on implementing the Croatian Constitution.

The SFRY Presidency assesses that these are one-sided documents at odds with the SFRY Constitution, which as such could not generate legal affects without infringing the SFRY Constitution. The situation in the wake of the adoption of the said documents of the Slovene Republic and the Croatian Assembly continues to exacerbate Yugoslavia's current constitutional, economic, and political crisis because these documents prejudice some solutions for the country's political future.

The issues raised by these documents can be regulated by no resolutions but only by the SFRY Constitution; that is, by relevant federal legislation.

One-sided or bilateral decisions in the direction of the so- called dissociation of the SFRY, that is the secession of these republics, are in direct contravention of the SFRY Constitution. In a political sense they are one-sided acts aimed to impose certain political solutions upon others in the Yugoslav Federation and they also amount to a one-sided abolition and suspension of the federal Constitution, arbitrary changes to the status of federal units endorsed by the SFRY Constitution, whereby the principle of national equality and the constitutional status of the republics are breached.

The SFRY Presidency has decided to set in action proceedings before the SFRY Constitutional Court for assessing the constitutionality of the said documents of the Assemblies of Croatia and Slovenia. The SFRY Presidency will treat in the same way any other similar act or action of any other federal unit. At the same time it pointed out the unconstitutionality of decisionmaking on the part of the republican and provincial assemblies regarding these documents. Yugoslavia's future constitutional system is yet to be discussed by the SFRY Presidency together with the repubulics. The SFRY Presidency pointed out that the Federal Executive Council ought to secure respect for legislation and constitutionality across the SFRY's whole territory.

Further, to the letter of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to U.S. President George Bush, sent in late January this year, the SFRY Presidency assessed that such and similar acts and conducts are not in keeping with the SFRY Constitution and may result in jeopardizing Yugoslavia's independence.

The SFRY Presidency has also been acquainted with the stances of the Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order on the domestic situation.

The statement from this session was adopted by a majority vote.

Dissolution Resolutions Presented to Assembly

LD0103160391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 1 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's and Croatia's resolutions on dissociation from Yugoslavia today were received in the Yugoslav legislature.

These resolutions were adopted in the legislature of Slovenia on February 20 and in the assembly of Croatia at its session a day later.

Both resolutions were delivered, apart from the Yugoslav legislature, to the legislatures of the other republics.

The Slovenian legislature has already offered the other federal units "an agreement of republics" under which Yugoslavia "is dissociating into two or several sovereign and independent states" which, after being formed, "will have full authority over their respective territories."

The assembly of Croatia has adopted the Slovenian proposal and in each aco [as received] on "the future association into the the alliance of soverign republics" specified that "Croatia is ready to form an inter-republican alliance only with those states which guarantee each other the status of soverign states and territorial wholeness (territorial integrity), and pledge to refrain from acts which could damage the state soverignty and territorial wholeness of the other state."

Federal Position on Slovene, Croat Resolutions

AU0103161091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] We have learned unofficially that at its session yesterday, the Federal Government adopted positions on the Slovene Assembly resolution on the proposal on the consentaneous division of Yugoslavia and the resolution of the Croatian Assembly adopted after the Slovene resolution and the proposal of the constitutional law on the implementation of the Constitution of the Croatian Republic. The government prepared the positions at the request of the SFRY Presidency and provided information on it at today's expanded session.

The Federal Government is of the opinion that the said documents in fact liquidate the SFRY as a state and as an international legal subject. According to the Federal Executive Council, the term division [razdruzevanje] used in the above-mentioned resolutions means in fact that what is involved is a document on secession. This is why this document, such as it is, is against the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution and opens several questions that are against the SFRY Constitution.

According to the Federal Executive Council, the points in the Slovene and Croatian resolutions are devoid of any legal validity and, from the political point of view, the resolutions are one-sided documents that are intended toward the secession of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia.

Zagreb Radio Carries Tudjman Letter to Jovic

LD0103190991 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has told SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic why he is not taking part in today's expanded session of the Yugoslav Presidency in Belgrade. At the beginning of his letter, which we are presenting in full, Tudjman says: I wish to inform you that I will not be able to attend the Yugoslav Presidency session. This is because at yesterday's session you made the letter of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to U.S. President George Bush a separate item on the agenda. This came about in the wake of your effort to secure a review of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office. The review of the Federal Prosecutor's Office, obtained at your request, includes, among other things, the following: The relevant facts suggest that Franjo Tudjman attempted to entice the United States into taking measures that would breach Yugoslavia's sovereignty in the sphere of its security, something that is prohibited under criminal law. While reviewing such an attempt by legal and criminal standards it is important to take into account his overall activities in the other relevant contacts with the United States. The letter demonstrates that such contacts were maintained, of which Franjo Tudjman reminds the U.S. President by way of the following words—as you already know—and that there were such contacts with other states too, as well as the potential consequences.

Tudjman stresses that this review seeks to raise the question of the legal and criminal responsibility of the Croatian president for allegedly calling for interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and for military intervention in Yugoslavia by the United States against the Yugoslavia People's Army [JNA], and for attempting to drive Yugoslavia into submission and jeopardize its sovereignty. Among a number of legal incongruities included in the review of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, special emphasis was laid on the call on the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office to invoke the conclusions and assessments of the Yugoslav Presidency and those of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of 4 February, which constitutes the departure point for the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office in its assessment of the letter. These conclusions, preceeding the review of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, state that the claims set out in Tudjman's letter about the conduct of the JNA are untrue. The placing of this review on the agenda of the Yugoslav Presidency session was aimed at articulating the political condemnation of the letter to President Bush, which should enable the competent organs to take measures against the Croatian president.

In this context, Tudjman stresses: By demanding a review of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office and putting it on the agenda of the Yugoslav Presidency, an attempt is being made to convey this problem as a matter of criminal and legal responsibility, rather than a matter of political responsibility on the part of the Croatian president. This contravenes Yugoslavia's, and in particular, Croatia's Constitution. These acts offend the sovereignty of the Croatian Republic, which is a sovereign state, within the framework of the existing Yugoslav federation, even according to the present Yugoslav Constitution. This sovereignty stems from the inherent sovereignty of the republics.

The fundamental provisions of the basic principles of the 1974 Yugoslavia Constitution, Articles 1 and 3, confirm and guarantee the sovereignty of the republics and, consequently, that of their top representatives. According to the Croatian Constitution, Article 94, the Croatian president is a head of state and in this capacity he represents the republic, both in the country and abroad, is in charge of ensuring respect for the Constitution, and ensures the existence and unity of the republic and the regular functioning of state authority. In my capacity as president of the republic I am authorized and duty bound to do all that is necessary to protect the constitutional order and peace in the Croatian Republic. I sent a letter to President Bush on 24 January this year, when there was a real threat of military intervention by the JNA against the democratic authorities in the Croatian Republic. The assessment that this letter calls for U.S. military intervention in Yugoslavia and that it makes its sovereignty subservient by a foreign power is absurd and naive.

Drawing upon the role and reputation of the United States and President Bush personally enjoy in the eyes of the international democratic public of the free world, the letter appeals to President Bush, in a manner commonly used in international relations to exert his influence by diplomatic means to help ensure a peaceful outcome of Yugoslavia's crisis and to prevent bloodshed.

At the end of his letter to Borisav Jovic, Tudjman stresses: By my failure to attend today's session I wish to make it clear once again that in my capacity as Croatian president I cannot take part in the Yugoslav Presidency's work on the talks on Yugoslavia's future until the pressures, and even threats, of criminal prosecution have stopped. To create normal conditions for a democratic solution to the state and political crisis it is absolutely necessary, I believe, that the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office withdraws its review of the tenability of my legal and criminal accountability and that the Yugoslav Presidency distances itself from the threats of setting in motion new Stalinist trials against even the top representatives of republics.

All this bears witness to the correctness of our assessment that the recent indictment against Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj and others is just the first stage in the attempt to topple the legitimate leadership and democratically established order of the Croatian Republic by staging show trials and purges to obstruct the continuation of the democratic transformation of the whole of Yugoslavia.

Please enable every member of the Yugoslav Presidency and all the participants in today's session to acquaint themselves with this letter. I hope they will help create the normal conditions for the continuation of the talks and a peaceful and democratic solution of the crisis.

This is what the Croatian president says in his letter to SFRY Presidency President Boris Jovic about the reasons for his failure to attend today's expanded session of the Yugoslav Presidency.

Letter Viewed as 'Criminal Act'

LD0103161991 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] At the demand of the Presidency, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office [FPPO] forwarded to the SFRY Presidency its assessment of a letter sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to U.S. President George Bush. Proceeding from its competencies, the FPPO informs the Presidency that in his letter, Tudjman claims that events in the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina are unfortunately developing in a similar way to the events in Kosovo and that we are, at the moment, in a serious state of readiness. The FPPO holds that Tudjman's letter to [the] U.S. President is undoubtedly tantamount to a demand for the United States to interfere in affairs of some competent Yugoslav bodies, that is, to interfere with activities based on the country's constitution and laws.

At the same time, the FPPO stresses that according to Article 117 of the Yugoslav Penal Code, a Yugoslav citizen who tries to bring the country in a subordinate or dependent position to another state, is guilty of endangering the country's independence, which is a criminal act.

Furthermore, within the framework of circumstances to which the FPPO drew attention and proceeding from conclusions adopted by the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the FPPO concludes that, from the legal point of view, Tudjman's letter makes false claims about the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] conduct.

The three point FPPO conclusion states that the letter addresses a foreign state and that the intervention demanded from the U.S. is undoubtedly aimed against the JNA, that is, the military authorities and bodies in charge of national defense, i.e. the SFRY Presidency. The aim is "to prevent the JNA from implementing SFRY Presidency decisions, in particular the decree of disarming of paramilitary formations and on collecting arms." The FPPO conclusion explicitely states that Tudjman's letter both in form and content undoubtedly goes beyond the bounds of a demand for the sort of intervention that would not affect the country's sovereignty, and that Tudjman incorrectly describes circumstances that could provide a sufficient reason for intervention. To this end, the strength of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and the JNA (?is analyzed).

From the above it follows that, through the mentioned letter, Tudjman tried to entice the United States into (?undertaking measures) that would breach the sovereignty of Yugoslavia in the area of security, which is forbidden by criminal law.

In reviewing such an attempt from the legal point of view, it is important to take into account Tudjman's overall activity and his other relevant contacts with the United States and other states, and the consequences stemming from these, especially consequences that could be brought about in the future, the FPPO conclusion forwarded to the SFRY Presidency at the latter's demand, states. The conclusion is signed by Federal Public Prosecutor Ljubomir Prljeta.

Tudjman Allegedly Sought U.S. Intervention

LD0203041891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2314 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Federal public prosecutor Ljubomir Prljeta has assessed that by a letter sent to President George Bush late in January, President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman "tried to induce the United States to take measures violating the sovereignty of Yugoslavia in the domain of security, which is an act punishable under criminal law."

The prosecutor's opinion, published on Friday, was provided for yesterday's discussion by the Presidency at a request of this [word indistinct].

The letter "shows clearly" that Tudjman "has asked Bush to intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia," the public prosecutor claims.

He also thinks that the "intervention to which the United States was being encouraged, was aimed unmistakingly at the Yugoslav Army, that is, military authorities and organs in charge of national defence, and thus, consequently, at the country's Presidency."

"The intention was to prevent the Yugoslav Army from acting to implement the relevant decisions of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, especially those on disarming the paramilitary groups and collecting weapons."

Tudjman "incorrectly presented the circumstances" and "minimized the strength of the Yugoslav Army to intimate to Bush that the intervention was not connected with unforeseeable resistance," the public prosecutor said.

In his letter Tudjman said that "Yugoslavia is not the Soviet Union, Serbia is not Russia, and the Yugoslav Army is not the Soviet Army."

He went on to say that it was "high time for the Yugoslav Army to [words indistinct] its well-known [words indistinct] reversals and threats, accompanied with the movements of tanks, aircraft and military units."

The public prosecutor said Tudjman told Bush that only an "absolutely clear message of the U.S.A. can prevent a catastrophe in Yugoslavia" and that a "sharp message of the U.S.A." can prevent "most of Yugoslavia falling into the hands or under the rule of a communist dictator."

The prosecutor also spoke in detail of the penal code article defining the elements of the criminal offence of jeopardizing the country. The article says that any action aimed at inducing a foreign state to undertake to subjugate Yugoslavia is a criminal offence. It adds that the "offender's political position of importance to contacts with other states" is taken into account "in assessing the importance of the act."

Spegelj Reminds Court of Government Immunity

LD0103030191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—According to Croatian radio this afternoon, Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj sent a letter yesterday to the military court and public prosecutor's office in Zagreb to invoke his immunity as a member of the Croatian government.

"On 24 February, the media of the Croatian Republic carried an annoucement by the military prosecutor in Zagreb that the military court had brought charges against Croatian Defense Minsiter Martin Spegelj for criminal acts under Article 124, paragraph two, with respect to Article 138, of Yugoslavia's Penal Code."

"Because, according to the law of the Croatian government, I enjoy immunity as a government member, I am presenting this fact to the military prosecuting services in Zagreb," Spegelj says. He quotes the following legal provision: "The president of the government, vice presidents, and other members of government have immunity as deputies in the Croatian government. The Croatian government decides on the immunity of the president, vice president, and members of government."

"I maintain that the military legislative services in Zagreb should have been aware of this fact," Martin Spegelj stresses in his letter.

Croatian Democratic Party Leaders Hold Assembly

LD0203201691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Split, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's Croatian Democratic Party assembly in Split, Party Chairman Dr. Marko Veselica asserted that "the noble Croatian nation" is threatened today only by "the cheapskate strategies from the East and its military leadership". According to him, this danger can no longer threaten Croatia, which must purchase not only Kalashnikhovs but also tanks and planes so it might be ready, with fraternal Muslims if necessary, for a decisive fight, after which there will be an end, he said, both to Yugoslavia and to its military lobby.

Dr. Veselica went on to say that all democratic countries of the world support Croatia today, including the "noble Albanian people" who are defending Croatian interests in Pristina, just as Albanian interests are being defended in Zagreb. He stressed that there can be no Serbian Krajina in Croatia. The only thing that Croatia can have in common with Serbia is a border on the Drina.

Party Vice chairman Ivan Gabelica also spoke in a similar vein. He called on fraternal Muslims to join Croats because they too are under threat in the same way, and Croatia is, in addition to this, inseparable from Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will defend Croatian legal authority, but we will destroy anyone who attempts to create a third Yugoslavia, Gabelica said.

A statement was issued at the assembly in which the request is made that the Croatian authorities, regarding the events in Pakrac, immediately resist the greater Serbian assault on Croatia, and it calls on the Croatian government to suspend all talks on Yugoslavia and form a council for the defense of Croatia, made up of the representatives of all the Croatian parties.

Interior Ministry Criticized as 'Unobjective'

LD0103211291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Interior Ministry today criticized the Croatian Interior Ministry for carrying unobjective and one-sided information about events in the republic.

In a reply to comments made by Croatian Deputy Beneti in the Yugoslav Assembly, the federal ministry today conveyed a statement in which it sets out that "the events in Knin and in northern Dalmatia as a rule were qualified as Greater-Serbian activities and terrorism, while some other events were treated merely as disrupting public law and order."

The region around Knin, predominantly inhabited by Serbs, this year proclaimed autonomy within the Republic of Croatia. Serbs living in Knin and in northern Dalmatia are constantly at odds with the new Croatian authorities which they accuse of implementing a chauvinist policy and of violating human rights.

The federal ministry illustrated its claims of carrying information in a selective manner by citing numerous examples. Among other things it cited that the Croatian ministry did not properly inform about the existence of the organization of "Ustashi youth" (Ustashas were Croatian fascists who collaborated with the occupying forces in Yugoslavia in World War Two).

Competent organs in Croatia also failed to report about the forming of the organization "the Seged Guerrilla", whose members committed several terrorist actions over the past few months, the federal interior ministry sets out in its statement.

Serbian Group to Federal Body Faces 'Battle'

LD2803205191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG) A 12-member delegation to represent Serbia in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly was constituted by the Serbian Assembly today. The delegation, to be headed by Aleksandar Bakocevic from the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS], comprises Radoman Bozovic (SPS); Miroslav Zdravkovic (SPS); Ilija Rosic (SPS); Milan Svabic (SPS); Mahmud Memic (Party of Democratic Action) [Stranka Demokratske Partije]; Slobodanka Sosevic (SPS); Slobodan Rakitic (Serbian Renaissance Movement) [Srpski Pokret Obnove]; Dragoljub Micunovic (Democratic Party) [Demokratska Partija]; Jovan Nikolic (SPS); Batric Jovanovic (SPS); and Zivojin Rajkovic (SPS). [passage omitted]

Aleksandar Bakocevic, the head of the new delegation, noted that we are living in a period of serious political crisis that will have to be overcome in line with the interests of all citizens and all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Bakocevic stressed that the new delegation will promote the interests of both Serbia and all the citizens of Yugoslavia.

Milos Aleksic, the incumbent head of the Serbian delegation to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, warned that the new delegation has an exceptionally difficult task ahead in view of the continued battle for Yugoslavia and Serbia in the federal legislature. This battle, he said, will be a dramatic one. In Aleksic's view, the Serbian delegation will have its most serious opponents in the delegations of Slovenia and Croatia and in some members of the Macedonian and Kosovo delegations who have, as a rule, always opposed Serbia and are at the same time well prepared to defend their own interests.

You must not think that your legitimate mandate will be an adequate guarantee that solutions endorsed by the Serbian Assembly will necessarily be adopted by the federal legislature, Milos Aleksic stressed.

Kucan Comments on 'Summit Talks'

LD0103232991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2232 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 1 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan addressed the press in the republican capital of Ljubljana this evening on the results of summit talks held in Yugoslavia today. Kucan said that the talks continue, because "nobody is prepared to take the responsibility for breaking them".

Kucan said that Yugoslavia will be "close to a state of emergency" unless the federal government wins legislative support for its measures which should ensure the functioning of the state until a new agreement in reached on Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government has failed to reach accord with the republics on measures which should ensure a minimum functioning of the state until a new agreement [is reached], so that it will again submit its (?proposals) to the federal legislature, Kucan said.

Vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency from the Republic of Croatia Stipe Mesic told the press in the Croatian capital of Zagreb that, in his view, four republics have opted for an alliance of sovereign states and two for a federation, although he noted that there was no actual declaration of positions.

Slovene Government Adopts Draft Defense Law

LD2802224191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Statement by unidentified Slovene government official following session of the Slovene Assembly, in Ljubljana; date not given]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovene government today adopted a draft law on defense and protection. The draft law defines defense and protection in the transitional period, that is, unitl the fundamental solutions regarding the economic and political system, including the concept of national security, are found.

The draft law, which the Slovene Assembly will discuss soon, stresses that defense and security areas should be conceived in terms of classical state functions. It defines the defense system as a system for repulsing outside threats.

Regulations on territorial defense have been changed. Territorial defense is no longer the most comprehensive form of armed struggle, but is an armed force organized exclusively by the republic. It can be deployed only under exceptional circumstances. The legislator believes this solution is necessary, at least in the transitional period. Territorial defense headquarters are defined as military commands.

A new oath is proposed. Regulations regarding a command and control system for the territorial defense are specified. Responsibility of the commander of the Slovene territorial defense toward the Slovene Presidency, the SFRY Presidency, and the head of the republican administrative body in charge of defense issues is clearly set out. Territorial defense employees must not be members of any political party. [passage omitted]

Rejects Federal Information Plan

LD2802230991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, February 28 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Minister of Information Stane Stanic told a briefing here on Thursday said that he was not prepared to sign an agreement on an "unhampered flow of information," as recently proposed by the federal government, because he did not believe that any "supervisor" can succeed in [passage indistinct].

In a letter to the federal government's information secretariate, which has initiated the agreement, Stanic noted that "obstacles and barriers have not been set up by journalists."

Stanic was skeptical about the possibility of journalists, "even if some 'supervisors' were found among them, suceeding in unblocking the flow of information in the country." This was an allusion to a preliminary draft of the agreement, which said that its implementation would be monitored by a "group of more prominent journalists from all parts of the country."

The group would, among other things, have the right to make denials, publish articles and broadcast comments in newspapers and radio and television programmes found to have violated professional standards and ethics as well as the principles established by the agreement.

Stanic also claimed that Slovenian papers, radio and television were carrying authentic information from other parts of the country and denied reports that papers from Yugoslavia's southern republics are not available in Ljubljana.

Stanic's statement came simultaneously with a strong protest by the Slovenian journalist association executive over his banning the correspondent of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES from being present during Slovenian government sessions and conferences.

The executive opposed the idea that state organs alone should assess the work of journalists and prevent their access to information. The Court of Honour has jurisdiction over violations of the journalists' code of ethics while regular courts deal with violations of the penal code, says the statement.

Karadzic on Status of Bosnia-Hercegovina

AU0303152091 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 91 p 3

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by E. Habul; place and date not given: "Bosnia Is Sovereign Within the Framework of Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Habul] We started the interview with Dr. Radovan Karadzic explaining why the Serbian Democratic Party opposes the acceptance of the offered text of the declaration on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Karadzic] Regarding the various declarations on sovereignty that are being adopted in Yugoslavia, I must say that they have all so far been anti-Yugoslav. This is because they all place their republics either outside Yugoslavia or, as is the case with Macedonia, they raise their constitution above the Yugoslav one. Regarding the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, even now according to the existing Bosnia-Hercegovina constitution, the republic is sovereign and within the framework of Yugoslavia. We are prepared not only to sign but to also defend with political and all other means this kind of status for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, we are not against the kind of Bosnia-Hercegovina that is written in the first article of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (whose first point is changed with amendment 60), which actually says that Bosnia-Hercegovina is sovereign. While the second point of the first article says that it is within the framework of Yugoslavia.

[Habul] The declaration has been interpreted by the public as an attempt to establish a political will that would respect precisely this article of the Constitution.

Against a Rigid Federal State

[Karadzic] Its position is sufficiently strong to ensure that neither now nor in the future in a sovereign Yugoslavia, which is both sovereign and has internationally-recognized legal status, will any federal unit have even an iota more sovereignty than Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will not vote for this and we will not allow anyone to have any advantage over Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, Bosnia-Hercegovina will have the same amount of sovereignty that the other federal units will have. Moreover, we do not advocate a rigid federal state but a reasonable federation, as stressed before by Mr. Izetbegovic. This is a federation that will not have even an ounce more power than it needs. No one wants the federal state to patronize it and tell it what to do. We cannot imagine life outside Yugoslavia either. Thus, the question cannot be asked concerning this declaration of who is and who is not in favor of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but who is for Yugoslavia and who is not. [passage omitted]

[Habul] What is the cause of the fear that acceptance of the declaration would be the way to the full independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] It is caused by the fact that the declaration repeats and expounds on only the first article of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which says that it is sovereign, but it fails to expound on point two, which says that this kind of Bosnia-Hercegovina is a part of a federal Yugoslavia. Therefore, this is a maneuver according to which the declaration should be established only on half of the first article of the Bosnian constitution and this is the half that speaks about its sovereignty but avoids the other half about Bosnia-Hercegovina being part of Yugoslavia. This convinces us that if the declaration is not changed, and we are working on coordinating it, it would violate the Constitution and the SFRY Constitution. It would change the Constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina. By repudiating the second point of this article of the Constitution and placing Bosnia-Hercegovina outside Yugoslavia—and exactly at the time of negotiations on Yugoslavia—we would be completely prejudicing the outcome of these talks and letting it be known that we have left Yugoslavia. If you look at the declaration on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which would be considered in the context of the Slovene declaration, the Croatian intentions and constitution, and the Macedonian declaration, foreign observers would think that this was the fourth republic to leave Yugoslavia. We would be bringing Yugoslavia to an end. None of us has the right to make this move, which would bring Yugoslavia to an end. To sum up, if this declaration were adopted in its unchanged form, it would quite certainly mean the political-legal discontinuation of the present Yugoslav state and as such it would be the final blow to the Yugoslav state.

[Habul] Is there a willingness among the partners in power to reach a consensus on a document that would stress the equal position of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a republic, that is to say, the existing republican constitution?

Bosnia Gives More Than It Takes Away

[Karadzic] We are working on this now and we care about strengthening the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We also care about our voice being heard far afield and we care about the federation treating us equally, so we do not do as badly economically as we have been doing. Bosnia-Hercegovina gives much more than it receives. Therefore, we are fighting for Bosnia-Hercegovina, but we are very cautious if someone wants to separate Bosnia-Hercegovina from Yugoslavia with some document. We are now working on coordinating a joint document that we will present to the Assembly and in which we want to strengthen the position of the republic so we discount any possibility of anyone in Yugoslavia having even slightly more rights than Bosnia-Hercegovina or any other advantage over it. We will always sign the kind of declaration that defines an equal Bosnia-Hercegovina within a Yugoslav state. [passage omitted]

[Habul] Are you optimistic that consensus will be reached on this controversial issue, so Serbian deputies do not carry out their threat to walk out of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly?

[Karadzic] I am an optimist and I think that no one wants to force the Serbian deputies out of the Assembly and no one wants political life in the republic to collapse. We will work for a sufficiently long time, we will not spare effort or time in achieving a declaration that is acceptable to all three peoples. We think a joint document should be presented, if this is how it has already been embarked upon. This document should not put any people into a desperate position. Our patience and political wisdom will determine whether this document will come before the Assembly now or at the next sitting.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Deputies Reject Declaration

LD2802181691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0157 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—While in session until midnight, deputies in Bosnia-Hercegovina's legislature did not manage to agree on a draft declaration on this republic in central Yugoslavia's sovereignty and indivisibility. The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) deputies, second in the number of seats, having not accepted the draft declarations text brought forward by the Democratic Action Party (SDA) (the Muslem party and the most represented in the Republic's assembly), the problem was left to be solved by the assembly's council for equality of peoples and national minorities. Such a council does not exist, however, a law on setting it up having not yet been enacted.

After the problem was so put off, the session was stirred up by the unexpected statement of a SDA deputy that the

party's executive committee had opted for the confederal order in future Yugoslavia, but the party is ready to go on discussing with the rest in the assembly both models: the federal and the confederal.

An ad-hoc commission, he said, should on the said discussion formulate a draft platform of the assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina for negotiations by Yugoslavia's republics on a future state order for Yugoslavia. The deputies in return repeated the well-known fact that the Serbian people would never consent to a confederation. The assembly president, Momcilo Krajisnik, found fault with the [words indistinct] earlier in the session's course and before the draft declaration on sovereignty was discussed,informed the legislature on its opting for a confederation.

This was for the first time that the SDA, in such a formal form, came out in favour of a confederal order for Yugoslavia. Bosnia-Hercegovina's and the SDA's president, Alija Izetbegovic, said earlier during today's session, that Yugoslavia should be 'a joint state of Yugoslavia's peoples in which would be the sovereign republics making up the state community, which is the state itself.'

Serbian Party Leader on Bosnia Issues

LD2802211491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] At a news conference today, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the course adopted by the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] came as an unpleasant surprise. It is good that this party has revealed its commitment to a confederation, thus confirming that the "controversial" declaration was meant to serve as an instrument for overcoming the constitutional vacuum. The Muslim nation is being deceived by those who insist that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not enjoy the same status as other federal units. In any case, the majority of the Muslim people are against both a confederation and a secession from Yugosalvia. Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs will continue to fight to ensure their republic's equal status with both Serbia and other republics.

Although Yugoslavia's disintegration would increase the chances for creating a greater Serbia, the SDS will nevertheless continue to favor a federation of three, four, or more units and will not succumb to Serbia's extreme policies. This republic, Karadzic said, shares its destiny with Yugosalvia, and whatever happens in Yugosalvia will be reflected in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

If Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic supports his party's [SDA] attitude on the confederal system, he will no longer be able to represent the interests of the republic, and the SDS will in that case insist on a tripartite representation in the federal system, the leader of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina categorically stated in conclusion.

Ogulin Police Unit Attempts Plasko Occupation

LD2803211891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Knin, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—A special police unit from the Ogulin internal affairs station tried to occupy the police station in Plasko, which recently decided to leave the Ogulin municipality and join the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Krajina.

Milenko Sucevic, from the Knin Information Center, revealed this to members of the Serbian National Council of the SAR of Krajina and their numerous guests, who were passing a resolution on the separation of the SAR of Krajina from Croatia.

According to the information, the inhabitants of Plasko energetically opposed the special policy unit and "occupied" their police station. Members of the Yugoslav People's Army prevented the incident from assuming more serious proportions by separating members of the special police unit and the people, following which the Ogulin police unit withdrew.

Reportage on Unrest in Pakrac; Reactions

Croat Forces Occupy Police Station

LD0203094291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Pakrac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Early this morning units of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry entered Pakrac, blocked the town, and occupied its police station and municipal building.

During the course of this police action, bursts of fire and sporadic shots were heard. There have been no reports as to how and why this action by the Croatian Interior Ministry units took place an whether anyone was wounded in the process.

At the moment there is no official information. The Croatian Interior Ministry is expected to release an official statement.

Statement on Station Occupation

LD0203104891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0946 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry has just released the following statement on the events in Pakrac:

Following the decision of the Pakrac Municipal Assembly, passed on 22 February, to place Pakrac's police station under the authority of the so-called Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Krajina, some of the employees in the police station contributed through their conduct to the deterioration of the security situation in this area. The reserve police personnel of Serbian nationality were thus illegally mobilized in the course of which

16 Croatian policemen who happened to find themselves in the police station were disarmed.

Due to the failure of the appropriate individuals in the police station to heed the warnings and orders from the police station in Bjevolar and the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, for while all the facts bear witness to their disregard for law and the service's rules of operation, thus posing a threat to public peace and order on a larger scale, the Croatian Interior Ministry took operational measures between 1 and 2 March 1991 to restore peace and discipline in the Pakrac police station.

In the course of taking measures to prevent individuals and groups in the wider area of this part of the republic from committing further illegal actions, the appropriate services are establishing the criminal and other responsibility of the participants in these illegal actions.

The Interior Ministry calls on the citizens to help normalize, by their conduct, the state of public peace and order in these areas. All those members of the reserve police units who were mobilized illegally and are in possession of arms are also being called on to return them at the police station. If they fail to do so they will be treated as a paramilitary formation as legislation and the SFRY Presidency's order to regulate this issue.

At the end of the Ministry's statement it says that "the public will be informed in a timely manner about all further details surrounding these events."

Home, Vehicle Searches Conducted

LD0203123991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Pakrac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Around noon at the Pakrac town center, special units of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry were seen taking over certain residential buildings and opening and searching cars. Sporadic shots can still be heard.

There are no reliable reports from the scene, however, and still less official information on what is really happening in the town and the scale of possible clashes, whether they are still going on or whether the situation is calming down. The only official explanation of the events in Pakrac is contained in the statement of the Croatian Interior Ministry, as Pakrac municipal institutions are not working.

There are no Interior Ministry members in the town center, and citizens are gathering in small groups. Schools, shops, bars, and enterprises are closed. Bread is being sold on the streets in large quantities.

At about 1100 one helicopter flew over the town. Half an hour later two more flew over the town. Telephone connections are bad and information being informally passed between citizens is difficult to believe. In the Pakrac medical center, according to what could be learned by telephone, there are no injured.

The first shooting resounded in Pakrac at about 0645 this morning, sporadic bursts of gunfire could be heard after that.

Osijek Rally Banned; Tear Gas Used

AU0303151791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Nebojsa Spajic report]

[Text] At the beginning of our program we had a report by Ratko Stevic from Osijek, where a rally condemning the Croatian leadership's policy was supposed to take place. During the program we also received a report from Nebojsa Spajic, who attended a news conference organized by the Osijek police.

[Spajic] There were several minor clashes between the local police and groups of people who wanted to hold a protest rally against yesterday's events in Pakrac.

A protest rally was scheduled to take place in front of the Army hall at 1200, but it was banned, or to be more precise, as explained at a news conference in the Osijek police station, the rally was not announced and the organizers were not known. The (?rally) was the reason for rigorous checks on all roads to Osijek this morning. A Belgrade Radio team went through such a road check, through some 30 special policemen. We noticed two trucks full of building material parked by the road. Later we learned that these trucks were used to block the road.

At one such access road from the direction of Bilje, the militiamen prevented a group of several hundred people from entering Osijek. At the news conference it was said that this group behaved aggressively, that they tried to break through the police cordon, and that the police had to use tear gas. The gathered people then dispersed (?saying that they would) attack the police station in Beli Manastir. This was stated by the head of the police station Josip (?Rajhl). This did not happen, (?Rajhl) said.

The second incident took place in front of the Army hall. There were several hundred people there. Some of them were protesting against events in Pakrac, while others wanted to extend support to the Croatian leadership. After several warnings to disperse, the militiamen dispersed the gathered crowd by force. They used rubber batons. The police said the batons were only used against those who resisted. Witnesses claim that there was no reason to use them.

The police said they were satisfied because a possible interethnic incident had been avoided. The police detained four people after this clash in front of the Army hall, in addition to eight others who were detained this morning, when they arrived at the local railroad station with the flags of the Serbian Democratic Party.

The head of the Osijek police, Josip (?Rajhl), on several occasions commented on successful cooperation between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Croatian

police, in terms of exchanging information, and on preparing and organizing measures.

The situation in Osijek is currently calm although we heard two single shots from somewhere in the town during the news conference, which ended about 10 minutes ago. It still not known what this was about. The police said that the situation is further complicated by a soccer match between Osijek and Velez [a soccer team from Mostar] scheduled for later today. This is a high risk match and could be a reason for further incidents.

The police also said that the situation throughout the Osijek region is calm.

Jovic Sends Troops Into Pakrac

LD0203151191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Statement by the SFRY Presidency Information Service on events in Pakrac; issued in Belgrade 2 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)— On 2 March 1991, at 0600, about 150 to 200 members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry encircled and then entered the Pakrac Municipal Assembly building and Police station. Shortly before this action by the members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, most of the active personnel members and some members of the reserve police personnel left Pakrac carrying their arms. About 20 members of the reserve police personnel who remained in the station were disarmed and detained until further notice. Early this morning about 300 to 400 citizens gathered but were dispersed with tear gas and physical force. The use of arms was in evidence. There is no reliable information on injured or dead. On the surrounding mountains, where a large group of citizens and members of the Pakrac police assembled, sporadic shots could be heard.

The number of units of the Croatian Interior Ministry in Pakrac is constantly increasing. At the same time, large gatherings of the Serbian population have been announced. To prevent the escalation of intranational confrontations, SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic accepted the suggestion of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and authorized movements of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense has sent a group of its inspectors to Pakrac to insist on an end to any use of force. Moreover, the appropriate Federal services are taking other measures to normalize, as soon as possible, the situation and prevent a larger outbreak of unrest and confrontation.

Serbs Reportedly Killed

AU0203152491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Dragan Pavicevic report on Belgrade Radio on Pakrac events, obtained from Titograd Radio and Television; in Belgrade on 2 March]

[Text] [Pavicevic] Six Serbs, including three young men, died early this morning in an armed conflict between Croatian Special Forces and the Serbian militia, which was joined by citizens. There were also several wounded on both sides.

Serbs from Pakrac are in shelters and are seeking refuge in the surrounding woods. The Serbian militia are with them. Most of them are (?sheltering) in the woods of Bucje. Units of the Croatian Special Forces set off for Bucje at around 1200. We have been unable to receive any news from there about any armed conflict.

The units of the newly-formed Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Krajina, which contain only Serbs, have received the order to use firearms if they come across Croatian Special Forces. All reserve forces in the Krajina are in a state of full combat readiness. Units of the Yugoslav People's Army are due to enter Pakrac.

Everything started last night when the Serbian militia, with the aid of citizens, disarmed 44 members of the constabulary who had taken over the militia station in Pakrac. The Croatian authorities used this as an excuse to send 1,200 members of the special forces to Pakrac early this morning to occupy the militia station. They also occupied [word indistinct] institutions and some housing buildings.

They are searching Serbian houses, cars, and people; Pakrac is not even a town. Collectives are not working and all shops are closed. Bread is being sold in large quantities on the street. Telephone lines are down. Two helicopters have recently started flying over the town. Automatic fire can still be heard.

The night will certainly not be peaceful in Slavonia and the Krajina. A four-member team from Montenegro Radio and Television is in the Pakrac area.

Croatian Media on Events

LD0203160791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian information media are reporting the events in Pakrac in a terse manner, essentially repeating the statement by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry (MUP). Croatian Radio is only reporting that MUP units entered Pakrac at about 0600 this morning and took control of the police station in which reservists of Croatian nationality were disarmed yesterday.

The news adds that a new police station commander has been appointed and that MUP members have also entered the Pakrac Municipal Assembly building , which since today has had a Croatian flag flying on top.

Mesic, Degoricija Depart for Pakrac

LD0203163991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian Radio reports that SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic and Slavko Degoricija, president of the Chamber of Municipalities of the Croatian Assembly, left this afternoon for Pakrac to familiarize themselves on the spot with the situation.

Armored Vehicles Enter City

LD0203161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Pakrac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Uniforms can be seen this afternoon in the streets of Pakrac, a city of about 10,000 inhabitants. In the city center, around the Municipal Assembly building, and in the nearby streets there were a large number of MUP [Croatian Interior Ministry] members—it seems that there are several hundred of them—dressed in various uniforms, from camouflage to ordinary police. They are stopping and controlling every vehicle entering the city.

Some time before 1500 about a dozen JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] armored vehicles drove through the city center, while MUP members carefully observed them.

The entrance to the city itself is quite complicated as traffic police are warning all those attempting to enter the city from the direction of Novska that about 10 km of barricades had been raised before Lipik. The barricades are said to be unguarded but they are nonetheless impassable. It was possible this afternoon to avoid the barricades if one were to arrive in Pakrac from the direction of Banova Jaruga. Several JNA armored vehicles have been placed at the entrance to the city, near the medical center, while MUP members are stationed some 500 meters away.

Informal talks with locals indicates many unconfirmed stories about the events that began before 0700 this morning when, as some claim, people were awakened by shots being fired. There was also sporadic shooting during the day.

There is still no official information about claims of injuries.

Official: No Injuries, 30 Arrests

LD0203171691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Statement by Milan Brezak, Croatian Internal Affairs [MUP] Under Secretary, on 2 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] MUP forces have established public peace and order in Pakrac, and in this respect the situation is now satisfactory. I wish to refute rumors about victims, because there were no injuries during the MUP intervention. I also wish to stress that, in the process of establishing public peace and order, MUP members were assisted by the presence of Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], who contributed to the calming of the overall situation. I expressly state that there was no confrontation between JNA and MUP members, as some public information media are claiming, especially ones from Belgrade.

I would like to take this opportunity to call on all honest and well-intentioned people not to be duped by lies and rumors about so-called attacks by special units, spread by extremists and delinquents who wish to portray our workers as sinister ghosts, calculated at creating the psychosis of fear and panic among the citizens to cause chaos. This is also the case with these latest events in Pakrac, and has been used for disturbing the citizens in so-called Serbian municipalities in Croatia.

I would like to stress once aagin that MUP will guarantee peace and security to all honest citizens, and our members will intervene, in keeping with the law, whenever and wherever the security of citizens, constitutional order, or property is threatened.

Finally, allow me to tell the public that MUP members arrested about 30 people suspected of taking part in illeagl activities in Pakrac.

Serb Official: Nation at 'Abyss'

LD0203182391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—News from Pakrac reaching the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO) presidium is contradictory, but all of it is tragic, SPO Chariman Vuk Draskovic said this afternoon.

I fear that we are now living through the final moments of hope for a peaceful, commonsense resolution of the Serbo-Croatian conflict, he said. Yugoslavia, he said, is on the edge of the abyss. He said that shots fired at Serbs in Pakrac can only be interpreted as shots [fired] at the whole Serbian nation.

FEC Communique, Instructions

LD0203191291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG) On the basis of the information supplied by authorized services, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] examined the situation brought about by the events in Pakrac and neighboring places on 1 and 2 March 1991.

The FEC and the authorized federal services are in constant touch with the government and the corresponding Croatian services, while MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] representatives are on the spot.

The FEC maintains that—for the purpose of further calming the situation—it is necesary to take the following measures:

—To prevent threats to the life of citizens without the use of force from either side, to establish public peace and order and ensure personal and material security of all citizens;

—Municipal authorities (municipal assembly and executive council) should start, without delay, to carry out their duties determined by the Constitution and law;

—The Pakrac internal affairs' services should assume the same duties as before these events, which means that all policemen stationed at Pakrac police station should return to their posts and the reserve force should be demobilized in keeping with the regulations, while the forces engaged from the outside should withdraw.

Within their jurisdiction and in keeping with the Constitution and law, the authorized services hould take all necessary measures for the objective examination of the causes of and circumstances behind these events.

The FEC has instructed authorized federal services to monitor the situation and immediately take all necessary measures within their jurisdiction for the purpose of calming the situation that has arisen, preserving public peace and order, and protecting the personal and material security of citizens not only in the Pakrac area but also in the country as a whole.

'Sporadic' Gunfire Heard

LD0203194691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Pakrac, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Sporadic bursts of gunfire from automatic weapons rang out this evening from various parts of Pakrac, accompanied by individual small-scale explosions. Many citizens, anxious about the uncertainties the night will bring, have left the town, seeking accommodation with distant relatives and friends or in weekend cottages on the slopes of Mount Papuk.

Most of those who have remained in the town have decided against turning lights on in their homes for fear of attracting possible stray bullets. In practical terms, the town is in darkness apart from street lighting.

Numerous units of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry (MUP) are still in position forming a cordon, with their weapons at the ready, around the Pakrac municipal assembly. The town's roads are practically empty due to patrols checking vehicles and passengers at important crossroads.

Serb Protest Meeting Held in Dvor

AU0203194391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Slavko Sekic report on Pakrac events gathered by reporters from Montenegrin Radio and Television; on 2 March; place not given]

[Text] [Sekic] The imperiled Serbian population of Pakrac has sought shelter in the refuge of the nearby woods near Bucje. Fear that the final result of today's marauding action by the warriors of the Croatian Democratic Community could be more tragic is, unfortunately, not without foundation. According to information we have received, shooting could be heard around Bucje this afternoon.

Everything that has happened today has brought the Serbian population of Kozara, Podgrmec, Banija, Kordun, and Krajina to its feet. A protest meeting, organized by the Serbian Democratic Party and addressed by party chief Jovan Raskovic, was held in Dvor on the Una.

Reserve militia forces [words indistinct] the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. Guards are keeping watch in all Serbian villages.

Everything that the reporters of Montenegro Radio and Television saw on the road from Knin to Bosanski Novi and Dvor on the Una, where we are reporting from, testifies to the great anxiety among the Serbian population, as well as its determination to resolutely and uncompromisingly defend its hearths. Hope that tension may be calming down at least a little came with news that Yugoslav People's Army units were entering Pakrac. Caution and [word indistinct] at any surprise will not diminish even a little.

Serbian Socialists Condemn 'Attack'

LD0203194591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Statement by the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Blegrade 2 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian authorities, using violent and fascist methods, have made an attack not only on peace and life together, national equality, and democracy, but also on the very life of citizens.

With this serious violence, the statement says, the Croatian authorities have brought about the further deterioration of the otherwise serious political situation in Yugoslavia. The SPS requests of the federal services that they immediately thwart the powers in Croatia that are using fascist methods of violence against citizens.

The SPS requests that the SFRY Presidency—instead of barren meetings and statements—carry out its constitutionally established functions. Moreover, the executive committee statement says that an outcome to the Yugoslav crisis can be achieved only if accompanied by full respect for the rights of each nation to determine its own future.

Tudjman Claims Proof of Army Role

LD0203213591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Regarding events in Pakrac Croatian President Franjo Tudjan sent this letter addressed to the SFRY

presidency, its President Borisav Jovic, Vice-President Stjepan Mesic, and its other members:

In connection with events of 1 March 1991 in Pakrac, we have evidence proving that top-ranking Yugoslav National Army officers took part in the preparation of all events that culminated in the disarming of policemen of Croatian nationality in the Pakrac police station. Therefore, I maintain that:

First, the SFRY Presidency, when making decisions, should keep in mind that we possess evidence that we will, if necessary, make public;

Second, we propose that the truthfulness of the assertions be established by a legislative commission composed of an equal number of members from the SFRY Assembly and the Croatian Assembly, and;

Third, if the first two fail to be done, we will be forced to call on international bodies to establish the truth. Even more so, because regarding events in Pakrac, and in other places in Krajina, there exists an escalation of actions against the constitutional and legal order of the Croatian Republic.

City Calm; Earlier Unrest Described

AU0203220691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Dusan Radulovic report]

Pakrac has been peaceful since 1900. Until then, one could hear bursts of fire from automatic weapons. It is almost certain that this was not from an exchange of fire between the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the special Croatian militia forces, but shooting that is a consequence of the serious uncertainty, above all in the ranks of the special forces. That is to say, they have occupied the very center of the town; street lights have been extinguished here; and they are holding the militia station while the Army is on the outskirts of and controls the approaches to Pakrac.

It is peaceful now and there has been no confirmation that there were casualties from the events this morning, that there were fatal casualties. I have learned from very reliable sources that there was shooting in the militia station itself, and I have even learned the actual type of weapon used: a machine gun. One constabulary member was wounded and had arterial bleeding. The others, however, refused to take him to the hospital because the team or unit that had come to Pakrac included a doctor.

There has been no information whatsoever about what has been happening in the surrounding area. There are no barricades, at least not where we have been, but great uncertainty prevails in the town itself. The streets are deserted, houses are dark, and blinds have been pulled down. We had to go around Pakrac several times because the very center of the town is impassable.

We came across quite a few JNA patrols and passed several columns that were moving out of Pakrac in different directions, but there was no sign that the Army is taking any specific action. It seems that the Army is here, above all, to preserve peace and restore the confidence of these people who live in great uncertainty that there will be no more harassment.

We should also say that this evening at around 2100, we noticed 20 constabulary members getting into a bus and leaving Pakrac. Because we were very close by, we had the impression that they were doing this almost in a panic.

Moreover, some time before this, we also saw two men being arrested. A constable approached one of them and checked his identification and, probably suspecting that the man had something on him that he did not like, they took the two to the militia station.

We must also say that, considering that 20 or so members of the Croatian special militia forces have left Pakrac, we expect the situation here to stabilize and not deteriorate further.

Serbs Will 'Fight to the Last Man'

LD0203223891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2124 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Following events in Pakrac, a protest rally was held in Dvor na Uni this evening. The rally was attended by several thousand Serbs from the municipality of Dvor na Uni; Jovan Raskovic, chairman of the Knin-based Serbian Democratic party; Jovo Opacic, member of the National Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina; and Dusan Zelenbaba, a deputy in the Croatian Parliament, addressed the rally.

Jovan Raskovic said the Croatian state today declared war on the Serbian people. He said we are accepting the declaration with dignity and shall respond to it accordingly. We are not a people that surrenders; we are not a people to be humiliated. Throughout history there have been more powerful aggressors, but it is widely known what happened to those who declared war on the Serbian people. The Croatian state is not going to experience anything better. We are not afraid of the Croatian state. We shall offer resistance to the Croatian state. It will be nothing else but our defense. We shall fight to the last man. They spoke of the peace while preparing an attack; they spoke of democracy while introducing aggression;

they spoke of a modern state while introducing the old Independent State of Croatia [state during the Second World War].

This state, Raskovic said, is not democratic anymore, nor is it new. It is based on old, lethal, and extremely aggressive instincts. It is high time the Croatian people understood that those who are now leading this country are leading it, together with the Croatian people, toward an abyss. They are also threatening the existence of the Serbian people in Croatia, Raskovic concluded at the rally in Dvor na Uni.

Manolic on Croatia's Interests

LD0203234691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Report by Jasminka Bogdanic on an interview with Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic, broadcast "this evening" on Croatian television, including recorded excerpts of Manolic's remarks during the interview, presented by Bogdanic; from the "Chronicle of the Day" program]

[Text] [Bogdanic] Commenting on TANJUG's news about the break-in at the police station in Pakrac, Prime Minister Manolic says:

[Manolic] You use the formulation surrounding and break-in as if this were a matter of gangsters, and not of the legal entities of a legal state and of a legal government, which is carrying out and seeking only respect for the legal order throughout its own area. The fact and truth is—and Mr. Jovic passes over this in silence—that the day before this the municipal assembly adopted a decision to join so-called Krajina, while the police station, led by its commander, carried out this coup and arrested and disarmed 14 policemen of Croatian nationality, and in this way ensured support for these decisions, which were adopted in this illegal and unconstitutional way. Now there has been a reaction by the Internal Affairs Ministry to establish the legal order in Pakrac, establish public order and peace, and as a result of this our police forces have established this legal order and allowed the police station to function normally in Pakrac.

[Bogdanic] Josip Manolic comments on the possible movement of military units, which was approved by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic.

[Manolic] This fits in with his scenario—a scenario in which the situation is not calmed, but on the contrary is exacerbated, and in which support is given to the barricade revolution in Pakrac and other municipalities. This is the purpose of the intervention and of this statement by Mr. Jovic.

[Bogdanic] One of the questions to the Croatian prime minister was how the Croatian leadership would react if the Army, this evening or tomorrow, nevertheless intervenes.

[Manolic] Throughout all this time, when we have been conducting a peaceful policy, we have not forgotten with whom we are dealing—and that in the period ahead we will be dealing with aggressive, defeated forces. We have prepared for this. We have set in motion all defense forces to defend today the interests of Croatia, and defend the sovereignty of Croatia. They must take this into account. If they have decided on the worst, then let them count on coming up against the interests of a nation that has won a victory in the multiparty democratic elections. Where Croatia's strength lies today is in the consensus of the whole Croatian people and all political parties to defend the interests of the sovereignty of the Croatian Republic. If moves are made toward further exacerbation, we will take a further step—we will proceed toward the formation of voluntary units, which will be able to successfully halt any aggression.

[Bogdanic] Ending this evening's interview on Croatian television, Prime Minister Josip Manolic replied to the question of whether the situation in Pakrac will extend to other parts of the republic as well.

[Manolic] Objectively speaking, there are no reasons whatsoever—although subjectively speaking pressure from Belgrade is still very strong. You can have a look at their press; seven dead, seventy wounded, hundreds detained, have already been reported today. It had all been planned in that scenario made in Belgrade. We managed to reestablish the legal order in Pakrac without a single casualty. That represents a great victory for us, regardless of what they are going to do further on. So far, the Army in Pakrac has had a correct attitude toward the actions implemented by bodies of peace and order. If it maintains the same attitude there will be no conflict.

Manolic Accuses Jovic

LD0303004291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2357 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 2 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Josip Manolic tonight accused Yugoslav Presidency President Borisav Jovic of supporting the aggravation of the situation in Pakrac and other Croatian communes with predominantly Serb populations.

Speaking on Croatian television, Manolic said that Jovic's statement approving army intervevtion in Pakrac was along the lines of his attempts to aggravate the situation and support protests [word indistinct] Serbs, including blocking of thoroughfares.

Manolic said that Croatia wants to resolve the Yugoslav crisis through peaceful and democratic means, but that it is ready to defend itself.

The Croatian police is armed, Manolic underscored, and said that volunteer units would also be formed which "will be able to counter any aggression."

According to Manolic's interpretation, republican Interior Ministry troops entered Pakrac this morning to "establish legal order."

Croatian policemen had previously been disarmed in Pakrac, and this town had joined the "Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina" which the Croatian authorities do not recognize.

After the entry of Croatian Interior Ministry troops, armored transporters of the Yugoslav Army rolled into Pakrac. The Yugoslav Presidency is discussing the situation in Pakrac tonight.

Montenegrin Communists Warn Croatia

LD0303031191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0028 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd, March 2 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the ruling Communist Party of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro tonight criticized the "intervention of special Croatian units against the unarmed Serbian people" in Pakrac, and warned the Croatian authorities that "force can be answered by force alone."

At its session this evening, the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro warned the Croatian authorities that "their acts represent the first steps to a civil war in Yugoslavia."

Early this morning Croatian Interior Ministry units stormed Pakrac, a town in Croatia 100 km east of Zagreb with a predominantly Serb population, and took over the police station. Gunfire was heard in the town but there are still no reliable reports about possible casualties.

The Montenegrin Communist leadership expressed its "strong determination successfully to defend the rights of all Yugoslav nations or their parts to continue living in the Yugoslav state."

Pakrac joined the "Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina," which the Croatian authorities do not recognize, before this intervention by the Croatian police. Serbs living in "Krajina" are opposed to the Croatian decision on dissociation from Yugoslavia.

Presidency Statement on Situation

LD0303065291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0619 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency reported early on Sunday, regarding the situation in Pakrac, that it is necessary that the "forces engaged from outside withdraw," that all policemen from the local police station return to work, and that the reserve police unit be demobilized immediately, or in 24 hours' time at the latest.

A statement issued following the Presidency session which began last night said that the "implementation of these measures will be provided by the authorized organs of the Republic of Croatia in cooperation with the federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs."

The statement said that the Presidency of the country, "on the occasion of the incidents in Pakrac," adopted these measures "in order to further calm the situation—which is substantially pacified by the presence of certain units of the Yugoslav Army."

The Yugoslav Presidency announced that it would "if necessary use other measures also to prevent outbreaks of interethnic conflicts."

Croat Security Forces in Dvor na Uni

LD0303090191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0643 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—It is peaceful again in Dvor na Uni early this morning after a sleepless night. Sometime after 0200 GMT the information came that a number of special unit members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs left Sisak for Dvor na Uni. They have arrived, but their intentions are not known.

The events in Pakrac brought a feeling of unrest and anxiety to this municipality in Banija. The Council for National Defense was in readiness in the municipal assembly, and guards were posted in the streets and outside more important city institutions, as well as in all the villages of this municipality. Many women and children took refuge in places of greater safety.

It is estimated here that Dvor na Uni could be the next arrival point form Internal Affairs Ministry Special Forces, especially because over 90 percent of the police station workers in Dvor na Uni refused to sign declarations of "loyalty" to the Croatian Government. Last night a protest meeting of Serbs, addressed by Serbian Democratic Party Chariman Jovan Raskovic, was held there.

Pakrac Calm; Police Movement Denied

LD0303091991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The night was calm in Pakrac and Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] forces are fully in control of the situation. This announcement was made this morning by MUP Under Secretary Milan Brezak. According to him there were no violations of public peace and order either in Pakrac or in any other part of Croatia during the night.

Policemen worked all night removing barricades from roads near Pakrac, said Brezak, and the traffic was back to normal again on Sunday.

Brezak also refuted rumours about MUP forces allegedly leaving for Dvor na Uni early this morning. "Since yesterday there were no movements of police forces," said Brezak, who did not rule out a possibility of such movements should the need arise—i.e., "if serious violations of peace and order were to occur."

Brezak once again denied information about victims among the population, but he confirmed that one policeman had been seriously injured and two received slight injuries. They are now receiving treatment in Zagreb.

Mass Protest in Belgrade

LD0303125491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The latest events in Pakrac were the cause of a protest meeting in support of Serbs in Croatia which took place at the Usce in Belgrade at noon today, attended by about 25,000 citizens of Belgrade.

The meeting, which was announced yesterday as being organized by the Association of Serbs from Croatia in Belgrade, was in fact held under the aegis of the city committee of the Serbian Socialist Party.

In driving rain and wind, the meeting was addressed by Mihailo Milojevic, Dusko Matkovic, Gordana Rujevic, Radovan Pankov, and Antoinje Isakovic, who demanded the urgent protection of Serbs in Croatia and agreement in the Yugoslav leadership.

Croatian Forces Begin Withdrawal

LD0303184291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Statement by the Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat; on 3 March, place not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—According to a report by Croatia's Internal Affairs Ministry and Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat representatives stationed in Pakrac, units engaged by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry in this area, as part of measures and actions to carry out the SFRY Presidency's conclusions at its 2-3 March session, began withdrawing tonight.

The same statement says that "once all the necessary conditions have been met, by the deadline set by the SFRY Presidency, all the police units deployed there, except those of the Pakrac police station, will be withdrawn."

TANJUG Denies Biased Reporting

LD0303233591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2009 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—In its reports from Pakrac, the TANJUG Croatian desk has, neither yesterday nor today ,claimed that there have been casualties or that "the action of the Croatian special units caused bloodshed." Subscribers to TANJUG General Service throughout Yugoslavia could see this for themselves. Therefore, we express an energetic and public protest to Croatian Television, which in its evening bulletin broadcast arbitrary and insulting misinformation sent by its German correspondent about allegedly "propaganda-like" TANJUG reporting about the events in Pakrac.

It is only true that TANJUG, apart from its correct reporting about the events in Pakrac, transmitted all official statements and denials, all official statements made by Croatian representatives, world and Yugoslav press and public media reports in the original form. This is a part of regular tasks and duties of all news agencies and is well known to all journalists and editors who do their job correctly and professionally.